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中國革命

WHITHER CHINA?

An Economic Interpretation of Recent Events in the Far East

by

SCOTT NEARING

Dr. Scott Nearing visited China during the most crucial period in the history of the Nationalist Revolution. The aims of the Revolution, the various contending groups in China, the place of the present struggle in world history, and its probable outcome, are set forth in this book with the author's characteristic lucidity.

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PREFACE

CHINA has been on the world's front page, at frequent intervals, during the whole of the present century. In 1900 it was the Boxer Rebellion. Russia and Japan fought across northern China in 1904-5. The Manchus were overthrown in the Revolution of 1911-12. Japan presented twenty-one demands to China in 1915 that robbed her of her sovereignty and stirred even the warring empires to protest. China entered the World War, appeared at the Peace Conference with a polite demand for equal treatment, and failing to secure the recognition which she deemed her right, refused her representatives the authority to sign the treaty. The Washington Conference was called in 1921 to adjust differences in the Pacific. China was again the center of attention. Meanwhile internal strife had reached acute proportions. Chinese students had begun the boycott of Japanese goods in 1919. In 1925 they did the same to the British. Chinese seamen, in 1922, won a striking victory for the new-born Chinese labor movement. Soviet-Chinese relations were firmly established by the Treaty of May 31, 1924. Succeeding years witnesses shifts in government, revolts, strikes, massacres, bombardments; a general exodus of foreigners, and with it all a steady development of trade and an increase in industrialization.

Like many another American I read the China news with keen interest, particularly as it was coupled with that from India, Japan, Korea, Java, the Philippines and other points in Asia. The scene of world events was certainly shifting. But like many of my fellow countrymen I was vague about Chinese geography; Chinese names proved illusive, and the whole situation seemed muddled and confused. What was the real trend?

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As year followed year, with Europe patently failing, and the Soviet Union devoting its major attention to Asia, it became increasingly evident that an intelligent observer of historic events during the quarter century between 1925 and 1950, must be thoroughly acquainted with developments in China.

About a year ago I persuaded a brilliant young student, Harry Freeman, to devote some time to the subject. Between us we covered most of the literature dealing with public events in China that was available in the libraries of New York. The results were disappointing:

(1) Because most of the literature—books as well as articles—consisted of photographic accounts, written by journalists, who did not get under the surface of events.

(2) Because the serious studies were chiefly devoted to political incidents; diplomacy; treaties; intrigue; revolts; civil wars, and conflicts with the imperialists.

(3) Because there was so little material that dealt with the industrialization of China; with wages and standards of living; with the labor movement; with the shifts in population, particularly from country to city; with land distribution; with the peasant movement; and with those other new institutions and activities that seemed to constitute the driving force in Chinese events after 1919.

(4) Because writers were so inadequate in their treatment of the rôle played by the Soviet Union in Chinese affairs.

(5) Because there was so little sensing of the relations that existed between the economic and political events in China and those events that were taking place in other sections of the Far East.

I was particularly discouraged after reading Gowen and Hall's *Outline History of China,* not so much because of their silk-glove method of dealing with the aggressive acts of the imperialists in China, as because of the failure of these well informed American students to take cognizance of the economic forces at work in China and of the rôle of the revolutionary

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movement and the labor movement. Imagine historians of China, writing in 1926, devoting a third of their volume to the period since 1912, and printing a fourteen-page index in which the words "labor union," "trade union" and "union" do not appear! The men have prepared a two hundred-page section on Republican China without treating either industrialization or the labor movement, except in the most incidental way.

Evidently it is impossible for journalists and scholars who regard capitalist society as an end-product to fathom the changes that are now taking place in Asia. Their inability to grasp the situation becomes increasingly apparent after the rise of the Chinese labor and farmer unions and the development of a mass revolutionary movement led by the rapidly growing Communist Party of China. Like the admirals, generals and diplomats, most of them could do no better than cry: "War on the Soviet!" as the remedy for a social process that was wholly Chinese, except in so far as it had originated with the imperialists themselves.

So I decided to go to China and see the situation at first hand, taking with me such information as I could glean from reading the literature and talking with Chinese in various parts of the United States. The results of the venture appear in this volume.

Most of the work on the manuscript was done in the United States. The literature was read there, and many of the statistics were gathered there. First-hand contact with the problems of modern China, and an opportunity to meet some of the more active leaders has given a touch of reality to the work that I could not have gained in any other way.

I do not pretend to know China. I am wholly unacquainted with the language, and am not an expert on Chinese history or on modern Chinese life. But I have some general knowledge in the fields of economics, sociology and history. Perhaps this study could best be described as an attempt to apply

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the yardstick of modern social science to recent events and present tendencies in China.

These are the main ideas that I have tried to present:

(1) Industrialization, initiated by the imperialists, and now pushed forward by the Chinese themselves, is the basic force that is creating the new China.

(2) Events in China are therefore not the product of "red plots" or of "bolshevik propaganda," but are part of a social process that has already run somewhat the same course in other parts of the world.

(3) The *nationalization* of China, which is an essential feature of this social process, cannot be stopped by the imperial gunboats and army divisions, any more than the nationalization of the United States, which began two centuries ago, could be stopped by British men-of-war in 1776 and 1812.

(4) The industrialization of China is as yet barely begun. It has affected only a fringe of Chinese cities, and only the fringe of Chinese life.

(5) The nationalist movement will grow in volume and power as industrialization sweeps inland on hard roads and railroads, with the driving force of Chinese capital behind it.

(6) Industrialization has gone far enough to create at least two definite lines of conflict: (a) That between the foreign exploiter and the Chinese exploiter—the struggle for national sovereignty. (b) That between the exploiter (native and foreign) and the masses of Chinese workers and small farmers —the class struggle.

(7) Since the movement is not, at bottom, *Chinese,* but economic and social, it is penetrating other portions of Asia at the same time that it penetrates China.

(8) The direction of this movement depends upon an understanding of its true character, and on an appreciation of the fact that China is not moving from village economy toward capitalist imperialism, but from village economy, past capitalist imperialism, toward a new form of social organization.

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(9) That is why the new China is closer to the Soviet Union than to any of the great empires.

(10) A new culture center is being mapped out in Asia during the present century, just as a new culture center was mapped out in feudal Europe during the years that followed the commercial and the industrial revolutions. For the moment, at least, China is doing the pick-and-shovel work that new social foundations always require.

I wish to acknowledge my debt to Harry Freeman for his assistance in the collection of materials, and for his handling of the proofs; to Ruth Stout for help in typing the manuscript, and to the Economics Division of the New York Public Library for very efficient service in locating and assembling material. Many friends, both American and Chinese, have been generous with data and with suggestions.

SCOTT NEARING.

SHANGHAI, *October*, 1927.

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WHITHER CHINA?

I

THE CHINA OF 1840

1. *The Antiquity of China*

AMONG all modern nations China possesses the longest history. Perhaps as early as 2700 B.C. the clans of central China were united in a loose form of state. The First Dynasty was founded about 2200 B.C.

Compare these dates with some from the Near East and the Mediterranean culture area. The Pyramid Age in Egypt extended from 3000 to 2500 B.C. The Sumerian city kingdoms were probably founded at about the same time. Hammurabi was making his famous law code in 2100 B.C. A century later Crete possessed a flourishing culture. These earlier attempts at social organization were buried many centuries ago in tombs, clay tablets, rolls of papyrus, and the walls of palaces, temples and monuments.

Unlike its contemporaries, the culture of China did not perish. The Chinese can show an unbroken chain of historic records extending from the period of the First Dynasty, through more than four thousand years, down to the present day.

The Great Age in Chinese culture history may be described as that between 1150 and 250 B.C., for it was during this period that the basic institutions of Chinese life were established. Socially, the guild and the mandarinate were evolving. Politically the country was under the domination of a long line of sovereigns called the Chou Dynasty. Economically the village was already well established. Note the contrast between these dates and some of the major events in the history of the West. Greece was developing in 1000 B.C. Pericles died in

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429 B.C. Alexander the Great was born in 366 B.C. These early European culture centers have disappeared except as they are pictured in history, and in the remains of their tools, weapons, utensils, buildings, clothing and writings. Chinese culture continues to the present moment.

Therefore, it is no idle boast that the Chinese make when they describe their vast antiquity. Chinese culture was matured when the Frankish and German tribesmen invaded and conquered Western Europe. As for dates like 1492 and 1776, they belong with contemporary Chinese history.

2. *The Basic Social Institutions*

About three thousand years ago the Chinese had the family, the guild, the village, the mandarinate and the grouping of social classes that was still accepted when the First Opium War was begun in 1839. Necessarily these institutions developed slowly, and were subject to some modification, so that there is no date that can be fixed upon as representing the establishment of any one of them in their nineteenth century form. As a group, however, these institutions date back at least 2,500 years, for they were an accepted part of Chinese society in the time of Confucius, who was born nearly 2,500 years ago.

The family may be described as the basic unit of Chinese social organization. Two great obligations were imposed on the Chinese by the traditions which they accepted: loyalty to the emperor and to the ancestors. Ancestor worship was a powerful influence in cementing family ties.

Grandfathers, fathers, sons, and their collateral descendants lived in the same family unit. The older men of the family were usually accepted as the family leaders.

The family lived in a village. China was, and still is, an agricultural nation. But the form of the agricultural village is that of the European and not of the American village. No one was isolated on the land. All lived together in the village from which the villager went out to work. Many of the

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villages were inhabited only by the people who were descended from the same family stock. Others were more cosmopolitan. But the basis of all village life was the land. Social customs and conventions were enforced in the village. Law and order were maintained there, largely through the pressure of public opinion. Village elders were selected and held their posts by common consent. Aside from the family ties, the land and the village customs, the ties holding the villagers together were few indeed.

In the larger towns and at the centers of trade there grew up another organization—the guild. The guild was really a product of the trading centers, not of the village. It was an economic family in which the master craftsman and his helpers and apprentices united together for the production of commodities or for the advancement of some other common economic interest.

While the village was the real social unit in old China, the villages were grouped into districts; the districts into prefectures; the prefectures into provinces and the provinces, with the imperial dependencies, constituted an empire, ruled over by an emperor (The Son of Heaven), who sat upon the Dragon Throne. The empire early became involved in such important public activities as river control, the building of canals, the construction of public buildings, that led to the departmentalizing of the central government.

Theoretically, the emperor was supreme. He appointed various federal and local officials and issued decrees which had the force of law. Practically the administration of affairs was carried out by the mandarinate—a group of scholar-politicians who secured their positions by passing competitive examinations. During the Chou Dynasty the emperors began the policy of asking the heads of clans and families to send to the imperial court men who were distinguished for "sincerity and faithfulness in fraternal and filial duties." At a later period the number of scholars to be recommended was made

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proportionate to the population. The mandarinate was recruited from all classes and families. It never became hereditary. One of the great ambitions of a Chinese family or clan or village was to have one or more of its members in the mandarinate.

This emphasis on scholarship, rather than military genius, in the organization of Chinese society, corresponds with the Chinese custom of paying special consideration to the sage and holding the soldier in disrepute. The chief public figures were generally the heroes of scholarship, of engineering and of other useful activities. The emperor plowed a piece of ground each year with his own hands. Again and again workmen and small tradesmen were placed in the highest public positions, and in a few cases, ascended the throne. Not only was the principle of advancement according to merit applied to the conduct of Chinese public officials, but Mencius and his followers insisted upon the right of revolution as a corrective to injustice or inefficiency in high places.

Class divisions in China were based on this same tradition. The classes were, in order of distinction, first, the scholars; second, the land workers (farmers, gardeners, foresters); third, artisans; fourth, merchants, who were looked upon as non-producers; fifth, housewives; sixth, menials and unskilled workers generally; last of all were the soldiers, "who live by violence." The principal gods were those of literature, husbandry and wealth.

Under a form of social life like that which was developed in China 2,500 years ago, ethical teachers were bound to exercise great influence. At the same time, there was never any active religious persecution carried on in China. On the contrary, there is probably no country with so striking a tradition of religious toleration. Taoism, Confucianism, Buddhism, Mohammedanism and Christianity have all had a hearing and all have a considerable following.

The ethical outlook of the Chinese was expounded by a

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number of philosophers who lived, taught, compiled and wrote through at least four thousand years. Three of the most influential of these sages were Lao-tsu, born 604 B.C.; Confucius, born 551 B.C., and Mencius, born 373 B.C. Of the three Confucius undoubtedly did most to give direction to the tendencies that he found in Chinese life.

Confucian teachings were primarily concerned with the Five Relations, between: (1) subject and ruler; (2) son and father; (3) wife and husband; (4) younger brother and elder brother; (5) friend and friend. These relations are all social. The teachings fitted in well with the demands of Chinese society and the needs of the Chinese social nature. For more than two thousand years the teachings of Confucius have had an immense influence in shaping the thinking and the social conduct of the Chinese people.

Three other points of very great interest should be briefly noted:

(1) China never engaged, to any great extent, in trade. "There was rarely large interchange of commodities beyond a radius of five or ten miles." Further, there was "no intercourse with the outside world."[1] Thus the Chinese escaped the savage conflicts of the western trading peoples.

(2) The Chinese, alone among the great empires that arose at about the time of 1000 B.C., succeeded in shaking off slavery, caste, and most hereditary class distinctions. In view of the grip which these social forces gained on the peoples of India, the Near East, and the Mediterranean of classic times, this was, in itself, an achievement of great significance.

(3) The Chinese masses really participated in the direction of public affairs, "as in no other primitive case. . . . China is the only primary civilization to have reached essential manhood in the mass."[2]

[1] S. Wagel: *Finance in China,* pp. 5-7.

[2] A. R. Cowan: *Master Clues in World History,* New York, 1914, pp. 254-5.

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Social divisions and alignments were well worked out in China by 600 B.C. They were formalized by Confucius and his followers, and they were the dominant social institutions of China when the western imperialists began their aggressive campaign against the Celestial Empire in 1839.

During the eighteenth century another social institution grew up in China—the secret society. In the beginning, these societies were social and economic in character. Later they became political and religious, and from 1725 down to the time of the Boxer Movement, they played a leading rôle in the life of China.

A Chinese emperor, who had been greatly troubled by secret organizations, began a campaign against them in 1793. The cost of the campaign exceeded $50,000,000, and in one province alone from 20,000 to 30,000 persons were executed. Thousands were killed in an effort to crush the societies.

Despite the governmental opposition the secret societies continued to grow, and to play a vital part in the direction of social and public affairs. In 1840 they were one of the outstanding institutions of China.

"This spirit of association is truly characteristic of the Chinese mentality. . . . If he is alone, the Chinaman feels weak. . . . He sees in association the only efficacious remedy, the defensive and even the offensive weapon when he has some danger to overcome."[3] Recent events in China, particularly those connected with the labor movement, have served to confirm this estimate. Social solidarity is one of the striking features of Chinese life.

3. *Variety in Chinese Culture*

From what has been written thus far it would be easy to conclude that the life of the Chinese people was limited to social relations and academic interests. Nothing could be

[3] B. Maybon: *Les Associations en Chine,* Paris, 1925, p. 6.

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farther from the facts. The Chinese were pioneers in a wide range of cultural activities.

Iron was probably introduced into China about 800 B.C. During the ensuing years, the Chinese perfected themselves in the use of hard metals. They also turned their attention to writing; to the making of a remarkably accurate calendar; to astronomy; to the formulation of a metric system of weights and measures; to the production of agricultural implements; to hydraulic engineering; to the making of textiles of an extraordinary excellence; to the advancement of agriculture; to historic research; to philosophy; to political science; to the development of music, of drawing, of painting, engraving, pottery, bookkeeping.

While the culture of Greece was still in its earlier stages; before Rome had entered the stage of civilization; while the Teuton tribes were still living the lives of barbarians, the Chinese sages had formulated one of the most enduring and one of the most generally accepted of all ethical systems, and the Chinese craftsmen, engineers, scientists, literary men, musicians and artists had worked out a level of culture that has been equalled in modern Europe only since the late middle ages, and that, in some respects, is still without a parallel in the West.

This early evolution of an advanced culture, at a time when the Chinese Empire was surrounded by nomad hordes, gave the Chinese a pride of culture that stayed with them till the disastrous defeats of 1895, 1900, 1905 and 1915 convinced the younger generation of Chinese men and women that they must bestir themselves if they hoped to keep abreast of the culture procession.

This pride of culture had become one of the Chinese social conventions. Outsiders who came on missions to China could only be received, so ran the official version, if they were the bearers of tribute to the Emperor of China. The latter, "The Son of Heaven," personified and embodied the power of

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the gods on earth. China was the center and the forefront of the world's culture, and the Chinese Empire was invincible and eternal.

4. *The Maturity of Chinese Society*

This was the social organization which the westerners found in China during the opening years of the nineteenth century. This was the seemingly permanent social fabric that was riddled, first by western cannon, and later, to a far greater degree, by western machine industry.

The Chinese social order of 1840 was a mature social order that had ripened through centuries of adjustment. Economically it was almost static. Changes, when they came, were of a minor character. The basic institutions retained their substantial form through century after century and dynasty after dynasty.

Chinese men and women, growing up under this stable social order, acquired the conservatism that corresponds with social status. They believed that China was the best and the greatest of countries. There was little room for improvement.

Many serious shocks are required to wrench masses of people loose from such a well established social structure as that which existed in China in 1840. Had the system of machine production and of financial imperialism been less potent as a social revolutionary force, the sheer bulk of China would doubtless have been sufficient to resist it for a very long period. As it was, the masses of Chinese were not really aroused to a stage of revolutionary tension till the years that followed the making of the Treaty of 1919.

1840 found the western powers inaugurating an active campaign to control the economic and political life of China. It was seventy years before the Chinese were ready to begin taking the control of affairs into their own hands.

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II

THE EMPIRES AND CHINA

1. *From Imperial Domination to Colonial Revolt*

SUCH was the China of 1840, with its village economy; its long established social institutions; its conservatism. Politically, the country was decentralized. From a military point of view it was disorganized and unarmed. Into this defenseless territory the empires penetrated with their mass products; their machine industry; their loans; their armies and navies; their cult of superiority. For more than half a century they worked their will. Then China revolted.

There were three outstanding phases of this process from imperial penetration to revolution:

a. The period during which the imperialists in China had things pretty much their own way: 1840 to 1900.

b. The movement of the Chinese ruling class to free itself from imperial domination: 1911 to 1919.

c. The revolt of the Chinese masses after 1919.

Any one who wishes to understand twentieth century China should have some knowledge of the happenings between 1840 and 1900. The revolt of the Chinese against the imperialists came in the twentieth century, but it was during the preceding century that the imperialists sowed the seed from which the revolution grew.

2. *The Imperial Formula Applied to China*

Why did the empires penetrate China? How did they get in? What did they do? Need they have sowed the seeds of revolution?

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These questions may be answered, at first, in a paragraph: Imperialists in China wanted what they want in every other unindustrialized country—an opportunity for the profitable exploitation of markets, of resources, of labor. They went after business profits in China with the same eagerness and determination that business men show wherever they see a chance to make money, and they used the means that seemed best suited to profit-making, without any great regard for the sensibilities or the reactions of the Chinese.

The general policy followed by imperialism in its dealings with unindustrialized territories has been sufficiently described by J. A. Hobson, in *Imperialism* (New York, 1902); by the Plebs League in *An Outline of Modern Imperialism* (London, 1922); by N. Lenin in *Imperialism;* by P. T. Moon, *Imperialism* (New York, 1926). Here it is merely necessary to point out that the imperial exploiters in China have followed essentially the same lines as those followed by the same exploiters in other portions of Asia, in Africa, and in the Americas.

Opportunity to exploit, in China or elsewhere, depends upon certain economic advantages; upon political domination, and upon the control of public opinion and social life in the country that is the object of imperial exploitation. Such a position cannot be established out of hand. It must be won gradually, point by point.

Essential steps in the establishment of imperial control in China have been:

I. Securing progressive economic advantages.

a. Early trade with China was based on the demand, in Europe, for the silks and other products peculiar to China.

b. Then, trading privileges were demanded in China. This period opens officially with the Treaty of Nanking, 1842.

c. Later, production goods were exported from the empires to China to be used for the establishment of modern mines, fac-

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tories, railroads and power stations. Britain entered this period about 1875.

d. Finally came the loans to China. The first ones were made after the Chinese-Japanese War, in 1895.

e. This completes the economic aspect of the imperial cycle. First came barter; second, the opening of the Chinese market to consumption goods; third, the marketing of production goods; and finally, bank loans—financial imperialism.

II. Gaining political domination.

a. The empires began their dealings with China by asking for reciprocal relations on a basis of national equality.

b. In the Treaty of 1842 the British secured special political privileges which were widened in 1843, 1844, 1858 and 1860. These privileges freed the imperialists in China from the operation of Chinese law.

c. The empires seized portions of the Chinese Empire and established themselves as the sovereign authority.

d. Political domination began with a request for diplomatic and trade relations on a basis of equality. It culminated in the partitioning of China.

e. While they were gaining economic and political control in China, the empires did not hesitate to use as much military force as was necessary to secure their objectives.

III. Social control went with economic advantage and political domination.

a. The imperialists built up their own propaganda machinery.

b. They established the tradition of the superiority of the imperialist over the native.

c. They practiced race superiority in the routine affairs of daily life.

The securing of economic advantage, the establishment of political control, and the fixing of a social gulf between the

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exploiting imperialists and the exploited Chinese might be described as the application of the imperial formula to China. It was the details of this formula that the imperialists were busy working out during the years that followed the Treaty of 1842.

3. *Securing Economic Advantage in China*

Western imperialists had been trading directly with the Chinese since the Portuguese made their first sea voyage to China in 1516. The purpose of this trade was, in the main, to secure silk, ivory, tea, spices, and other Far East products for the expanding European market. The traders merely asked the privilege of exchanging their goods and money with the Chinese merchants who dealt in the wares that were so greatly prized in Europe.

The commercial empires of that period: the Portuguese, Spanish, Dutch and British, were seeking the control of trade routes that would yield them bullion and other valuable products. It was the control of the trade route rather than of the source of supply that concerned them in their dealings with the Far East.

The eighteenth century brought a change of policy, particularly as far as Britain was concerned. The British had, in India, an excellent field for the production of opium. China's vast population offered one of the world's largest markets, provided the Chinese could be taught to use the drug. This business possibility led the British to push the opium trade with China.

During the same period the development of the factory system in the British Isles was piling up a mass of goods—particularly textiles—that demanded an outlet. Again China offered an exceptional market.

The pressure of the opium trade and of British factory-made textiles led to a reversal in British imperial policy. Both helped to precipitate the First Opium War (1839-1842).

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4. *Selling Opium to China*

During the opening years of the nineteenth century relations between the imperialists and China may be summed up in the one word *opium*. It was the British who finally forced the Chinese to permit the importation of opium from India. "To the Chinese the cause of the Opium War was plain and simple. It is often stated in the following words: 'China refused to allow England's importation of opium. England imposed that importation on China by force. The right and the wrong are clear. No explanation is necessary.' "[1]

Opium was used as a medicine in China as early as 600 A.D. For smoking purposes it was introduced from the Dutch Settlements in Java about 1650. The Portuguese were the first traders in opium. The Chinese tried, but without avail, to stop the trade, which was then in the hands of the Portuguese and Americans. In 1773 the British began the importation of Indian opium. In 1800 the Chinese Imperial Government promulgated edicts prohibiting both the production and the importation of opium.

Despite these efforts at prohibition, the opium trade increased steadily. Between 1820 and 1828 opium imports doubled. Between 1828 and 1835 they doubled again. Between 1835 and 1839 they again doubled. In that year (1839) 3,323,000 pounds of opium were imported into China. A determined effort made by the Chinese Government to stop the traffic led to the First Opium War.[2]

The First Opium War did not legalize the opium traffic in China. It did force the Chinese Government to permit traders to smuggle it into the country. It was after the Second Opium War, in the Treaty of 1860, that the Chinese were compelled by Britain and France to legalize the sale of opium.

[1] J. T. C. Yu: "The Struggle with Foreign Powers," *Current History*, June, 1927, p. 383.

[2] Wong Chin-wai: *China and the Nations*, New York, 1927, p. 15.

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Through generations the imperialists, and particularly the British, because of their sources of supply in India, continued to make great profits out of the drugging of the Chinese people. As lately as 1924 when the Opium Conference met in Geneva, the British were still obdurate.[3]

Mr. Sze, in the course of one of his addresses, handled the opium question with this touch of gentle irony: "The Chinese people were greatly shocked by the attitude of certain of the Western Powers at the two conferences held in Geneva last winter with regard to the sale of opium by their governments to the millions of Chinese living within their respective colonial possessions, as well as by their failure to take effective steps to carry out other engagements embodied in the Hague Opium Convention of 1912 with regard to the prevention of the smuggling of narcotic drugs into China, and their sale in their leased areas in China, and the smoking of opium in such leased areas and in their municipal settlements and concessions in China. . . . With regard to their narcotic habit forming and demoralizing drugs, it appeared to the Chinese that the Western Powers had not that consideration for the welfare of the Chinese dwelling under their jurisdiction that they had for the welfare of their own nationals—that there appeared to be, for the Powers, one ethical law for the West and another for the East."[4]

For more than a century the efforts of western traders to stimulate opium consumption in China has been a fruitful source of conflict between the imperialists and the Chinese. To-day there is no subject on which the Chinese are more bitter than that of "one ethical law for the West and another for the East."

[3] S. K. A. Sze: "Why the Opium Conference Failed," *Chinese Students' Monthly,* Vol. 20, June, 1925, p. 12; S. K. A. Sze: *Geneva Opium Conference,* 1926.

[4] S. K. A. Sze: *Addresses,* Baltimore, 1926, pp. 65-6.

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5. *Marketing Surplus Factory Products in China*

Historians have frequently observed that the conflict over opium was merely the occasion for the Opium War. The cause lay deeper—in the desire of the imperialists, particularly the British, to flood the markets of China with the mass products of their rapidly expanding factory industry.

Textile machinery developed in Britain through the later years of the eighteenth century. The steam engine and the cotton gin, coming at the same time, made possible the British cotton factory, with its intensely exploited labor, its power machinery and its quantity production. Some idea of the rapidity and the importance of the change may be gained from the fact that Great Britain imported four million pounds of raw cotton in 1764 and about 500 million pounds in 1841. The ending of the Napoleonic wars in 1815 left the British free to devote themselves to the production and marketing of textiles and other factory products, over many of which they still held a virtual monopoly.

British exports of textiles to China tell the next chapter of the story:

	Yarn *Million Lbs.*	*Cloth* *Million Yds.*
1851	4.3	114.9
1860	8.7	222.9
1870	11.6	396.9
1880	19.5	447.7

Through these years the British sales of textiles in China were increasing with great rapidity. China provided a large, and for the most part, an undeveloped market in which the British had a relatively free hand until they were confronted with the competition of Germany, Japan and the United States during the closing years of the nineteenth century.[5]

Industrialism does not stop, however, with the production

[5] E. Burns: *British Imperialism in China,* London, 1926, presents an excellent survey of the rise of British economic power in China.

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and sale of things that are ready to use. The manufacturer of machinery as well as the manufacturer of use-goods turns to foreign markets, sooner or late, and begins exporting machines.

Some machinery, such as railroad equipment and the machinery for electric power stations, does not compete with the goods produced in the imperial country. But when textile machinery is exported from Britain to China, set up in Chinese mills, and used to turn out yarn and cloth, it comes into direct competition with the yarn and cloth that are being manufactured in the textile mills of Britain. It was in the export of textile and similar machinery that Britain led the way.

In 1875 the British sent to China 35,000 tons of iron and steel, and machinery valued at £47,000. A quarter of a century later, in 1900, the British export to China was 70,000 tons of iron and steel, and machinery valued at £295,000.

Thus the British producers of machinery were selling to the Chinese market the equipment that was necessary to the development of an industrial system, and of a modern business class in China. Here was laid one of the economic foundation stones of the Chinese revolution.

British consumption goods first penetrated China. They were followed by steel and machinery. Thus the imperialists, in the regular course of imperial development, were industrializing China, stimulating the demand for the new type of goods and then providing the machinery with which the Chinese business men would be able to supply the demand on a modern industrial basis.

6. *Foreign Loans*

From consumption goods to production goods was the first step of the imperialists in their economic dealings with China. From production goods to loans was the second.

Consumption goods are sold in small units that are easily

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paid for. Production goods are sold in large units, and for long-time uses. Railway equipment and electric materials, machinery and steel run quickly into the millions of dollars. Unlike consumption goods, however, they are in use for long periods before they are finally used up.

The Chinese did not have the ready money with which to buy these production goods. The obvious thing, then, was to sell them on credit, taking bonds and other security in return. Thus the imperial bankers entered the field to finance the transactions of those who were anxious to sell big bills of production goods to the Chinese.

At the same time the Chinese had been saddled with an indemnity of 100 million dollars at the end of the war with Japan (1895). In order to meet these obligations, the Chinese Government was forced to turn to the imperial bankers.

Thus the bankers entered the Chinese field from two sides: the purchase of production goods and the payment of indemnities. Beginning with 1895, the Chinese market became a constant borrower from European, American and Japanese bankers. The Chinese had no choice in the matter. They were pushed into these arrangements just as inexorably as they had been pushed into the opium trade and the Opium War.

The foreign debt of China in 1925 was about 800 million dollars, gold. "Since the Washington Arms Conference of 1921, the Central Government that was in Peking ran behind ten million dollars, silver, a month."[6] That one item tells the story of a poor nation, heavily in debt, and running steadily behind, month after month. This is the economic policy that the imperialists have forced upon China, compelling that country, through its deficit, to fall more and more completely into the meshes of the imperial net.

Add to this government indebtedness the foreign economic investments in China, which are probably at least twice as

[6] C. Hodges: "Economic Position of China," *Current History*, June, 1927, p. 370.

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large as the loans to the Government, and the total is about three billion dollars, gold. On this total, at 6 per cent, the Chinese would pay 180 million dollars a year, in interest alone, to the foreign investors and money lenders (*Ibid.*, p. 371). (A full list of China's foreign financial obligations, with interest rates, guarantees, dates of redemption, etc., will be found in Sih-gung Cheng: *Modern China,* Oxford, 1919, pp. 212-217.)

Cheng notes two periods in the history of Chinese loans: before 1908 the foreign lenders bid for them, competitively; after 1908 they united and divided the spoils. "Unlike those in other countries, foreign loans in China are not purely commercial transactions. They are negotiated by banks and other financial institutions with the consent and support of their governments, and subject to their control" (*Ibid.*, p. 218). During this latter period, the foreign bankers, united in consortiums, and backed by the diplomatic pressure of the cooperating empires had China at their mercy. Year by year the obligations of the Chinese Government increased until it was hopelessly bankrupt. Year by year the imperialists were able to involve China still further by additional loan agreements, while their control over the Chinese customs and other sources of revenue made it impossible for the Chinese to raise additional sums with which to stabilize financial affairs.

7. *Permanent Economic Bondage*

Three distinct groups of economic interests were concerned with China: those who had goods to sell in the Chinese market; those who desired to establish productive industries in China; those who wished to finance Chinese industry and the Chinese Government. The economic interests of all three groups, in some respects, ran counter to the economic interests of the Chinese and of China.

Foreigners with goods for the Chinese market had two special ends to serve: (1) they needed an opportunity to sell their

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goods, a need that was met by the "opening" of ports, and (2) they must be able to undersell the Chinese producer of the same product, after paying home costs and transport charges. Low Chinese tariffs and the control of Chinese customs accomplished this result.

The foreign manufacturer, setting up his establishment in China, wanted protection against the Chinese manufacturer in the same line. He gained this through freedom from local taxation. The Chinese manufacturer was subject to the taxes levied under Chinese law. The foreign manufacturer was exempt from them. Then, too, the foreign manufacturer was able to command larger credit facilities.

Imperial bankers wanted some guarantee that interest and principal payments would be made on loans. They found such a guarantee in the control of the revenues of the Chinese Empire, the most important of which were pledged for loan payments, and were collected and handled by foreigners.

Thus, link by link, the chain was forged, and China was forced into the position of an economic vassal of the great empires. From this bondage there was no legal way of escape, since the traders, manufacturers and bankers who were seeking to exploit China were also in such control of her political machinery that they could dictate her treaties and dominate the workings of her political machinery.

Western traders went to China originally to make money. They found the Chinese merchant guilds in control of business, and quite unwilling to share their monopoly with foreigners. Competition was difficult. The guilds were old and very firmly established, with a standard of solidarity that has seldom been exceeded. There seemed no way for the western merchant to break through this Chinese trading monopoly unless he could "open" some ports—that is, compel the Chinese merchant guilds by military force, to admit foreign competitors—non-guild members—to the Chinese market.

The first five Chinese ports were opened in 1842 as a result

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of the Opium War. Subsequently, by war and by treaty, scores of other Chinese ports and trading centers were opened to the foreigners. This process broke the trading monopoly of the Chinese merchants and let in a flood of competition.[7]

The opening of ports and trading points would, in the ordinary course of events, have done no more than destroy the monopoly of the Chinese merchant class and provide a field on which the Chinese merchant and the foreign merchant would have competed for the business of China. But the foreigner did not want a fair field. He wished to enjoy special advantages that would make his position secure against the possibilities of Chinese competition.

The first privilege enjoyed by the foreign merchant was his freedom from Chinese taxes. "Although no provision can be found in any treaty, foreigners have always claimed exemption from any form of Chinese taxation, as part of their privileges." [8]

The foreigners held a second very important business advantage over the Chinese: they controlled the customs. In the Treaty of July 3, 1844, with the United States, not only was the principle of extra-territoriality definitely stated for the first time, but a provision was inserted limiting the Chinese tariff to 5 per cent ad valorem. There were subsequent changes in the rate of tariff, and a reformulation of the matter was attempted in the treaty which China signed with the Powers at the Washington Conference.[9] During the whole period, however, the Chinese have never been in a position to use their customs to protect Chinese industry or to secure additional revenue for the Government. Compared with the tariffs imposed by the United States and by the leading European nations, the Chinese tariffs are extremely low. Consequently the foreigners have been able to take their goods into

[7] Full list of treaty ports, with date of opening in *China Year Book*, 1925, pp. 904-5; list of points "open to trade," pp. 906-7.

[8] C. L. Malone: *New China*, London, Part I, p. 13.

[9] League of Nations: *Treaty Series*. Vol. 38, No. 981.

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China free of any heavy customs duties and to undersell the Chinese producers in the same fields.

Chinese customs were kept low. Great quantities of foreign goods were dumped into the Chinese markets. The result was that China, buying more than she sold, was threatened with an unfavorable balance of trade that led inevitably to bankruptcy.[10] To meet this issue the Powers came forward with loans, guaranteed by a further control of the Chinese Government revenue that still further crippled the economic activities of the Chinese. "To-day the customs rates are determined by foreigners, collected by foreigners, and used by foreigners to pay interest on bad foreign investments."[11]

Note this summary of the situation from the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce (*Trade Information Bulletin* 75, 1922, p. 4): "Foreigners, in accordance with their treaty rights in China, are privileged to incorporate and operate under the laws of their respective countries, and are exempt from Chinese jurisdiction, laws, and courts. For instance, an American company may incorporate under the laws of one of our states, erect a factory in any one of China's seventy treaty ports, employ Chinese labor, and operate under more advantageous conditions and terms than can the Chinese themselves." It would be difficult to put the case more bluntly.

When the foreigners broke through the monopoly of the Chinese merchant guilds, they lined up a large body of Chinese merchant interests against them. In the same way, the maintenance of a low tariff, and persistent dumping of goods in the Chinese market has lined up the Chinese manufacturers, in the lines affected, against the foreign business man and in favor of a free China.

Foreign financial houses in China enjoy similar advantages. Thus a foreign bank, incorporated under foreign law, issues

[10] F. R. Eldridge: "Chinese Trade and Customs Control," *Chinese Students' Monthly*, December, 1925, Vol. 21, p. 27.

[11] L. Gannett: *Young China*, New York, 1927, pp. 39-40.

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notes and carries on all activities that would be legal in the home country, quite irrespective of any restrictions that may be placed on banks by the Chinese Government. Again, the Chinese customs, collected by foreigners, were deposited in foreign banks in China and were thus used to strengthen foreign as opposed to Chinese banks.

Economic success of the foreigners in China is built on special privilege. "By controlling the Chinese customs and fixing the rate of import duties very low to suit themselves, they not only keep the Chinese Government in poverty and impotence, but seriously handicap the growth of infant Chinese industries; while at the same time, through this and other means, including the issue of currency, they control the finances of the country." [12]

The economic domination of China by the imperialists has been progressive. For nearly a century the Chinese business man has struggled under heavy disadvantages in his efforts to compete with the foreigner, while the Chinese Government has been at the mercy of the imperialists. China was being exploited and strangled, economically, in the interest of the foreign profiteer.

8. *Political Control*

Political control of China by the imperialists followed economic domination as a matter of course. First, there was the establishment of certain legal privileges that placed the foreign imperialist in China above the Chinese law, and gave him permanent advantages in his efforts to compete with the Chinese business man.

The political superiority of the imperialists in China was formally acknowledged in a number of "unequal" treaties, beginning with the Nanking Treaty of 1842. The Treaty of Nanking was forced on the Chinese by the British who had

[12] C. L. Malone: *New China, op. cit.*, Part I, p. 15.

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defeated her in the First Opium War. The United States, in June, 1844, and France, in September, 1844, secured treaties from China guaranteeing those countries the same treatment as the "most favored nation." Thus the privileges for which the British had fought became the right of other nations solely by treaty.

The treaty phrase is "most favored nation." The Chinese phrase is "Equal Opportunity of Privilege." [13] According to this clause, "whatever rights or privileges China hereafter once loses to any one nation, she must lose to all" (*Ibid.*, p. 19).

After 1842 China signed away her sovereign rights, under pressure from the imperialists, without being able to secure any corresponding rights in the countries with which she was making the treaties.[14]

"From the Opium War up to the present time, the Unequal Treaties were all extracted by the imperialists by means of threats, force, blackmail, and other such means.

"The Chinese people has never consented.

"The Nanking Treaty was the result of the Opium War.

"The Tientsin and Peking Treaties were extorted by the united force of the English and the French.

"The Makwan Treaty was the result of the Sino-Japanese War.

"The Boxer Treaty was extorted by the united forces of the eight Powers.

"All these were violent robberies without the consent of the Chinese people.

"Again, in 1898 and after, all kinds of treaties concerning leases and determinations of 'Spheres of Influence,' culminating in the Twenty-one Demands of May, 1915, were signed under the threat of violence, and without the consent of the Chinese people." [15]

[13] Wong Chin-wai: *op. cit.*, p. 18.
[14] S. K. A. Sze: *Addresses, op. cit.*, pp. 105 *ff.*
[15] Wong Chin-wai: *op. cit.*, p. 132.

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Political special privilege of foreigners in China takes two principal forms: first, the unusual privileges enjoyed by the nationals of the empires who reside in China; second, the presence, in China, of foreign concessions and settlements, which, though a part of the territory of China, are administered by foreigners under foreign-made law.

The foreigner, in China, who enjoys the protection offered by the unequal treaties, is really never out of his own country. Wherever he sets his foot, he enjoys immunity from Chinese jurisdiction, and, conversely, he is under the jurisdiction of his own government. Both civil and criminal cases involving foreigners in China are tried by foreign courts under foreign law. Where both foreigners and Chinese are involved, the cases are handled by mixed courts, representing both the foreigners and the Chinese, but in which the foreigners dominate, as they dominate all of the other phases of public activity in China in which they play a rôle. Thus the foreigner in China is literally above the Chinese law.

Here, for example, is an advertisement, published in the *China Weekly Review* for August 20, 1927: "In the United States Court for China." The plaintiff and the defendant are then named. The advertisement continues: "The President of the United States of America to the United States Marshal for China and his deputies—Greeting: You are hereby commanded to serve this summons and a copy of the petition in the above entitled action upon the defendant. . . . Witness, the Honorable Milton D. Purdy, Judge of the United States Court for China, Shanghai, China, February 4, 1927." Thus the judicial machinery of the United States is functioning in China just as it functions in Montana or Ohio. From the standpoint of the law, certain portions of China are the United States—because United States citizens and property are there, protected by the unequal treaties.

United States citizens in France or Britain enjoy no such advantages. When they go to those countries, they are subject

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to their law. It is only in exploited countries like China, whose sovereignty has been surrendered, that the citizens of foreigners are above the local law.

Foreign consuls in China, and the members of the diplomatic corps, have not been content with protecting their own citizens, but have played an active part in internal Chinese politics. "In 1911, when Sheng Kung-Pao, whose venality precipitated the revolution, was being tried by the National Assembly at Peking, soldiers of the Four Powers whose railway ambitions he had furthered, escorted him out of Chinese jurisdiction and safely aboard ship." Later the Japanese protected and entertained the discredited Anfu group of Chinese politicians.[16]

The most extreme form of extraterritoriality in China relates to the administration of the foreign settlements themselves. In these "little self-governing communities" the Chinese Government has no authority whatever. The nations that have concessions in China have their own strips of territory in various Chinese treaty ports "where communities dwell subject to the laws of their own country."[17] These communities are, of course, armed and garrisoned against the Chinese. One of the sights in the International Settlement of Shanghai is the tall, dark-skinned Sikh police, armed with rifles, directing traffic in the busy streets, while foreign soldiers in smaller or larger groups circulate here and there.

"Most of the concessions are governed by municipal councils. In some there is a very restricted Chinese representation, in others the Chinese have no votes at all, though in all the big concessions they have the majority of the population and pay taxes" (*Ibid.*).

The International Settlement at Shanghai, which is the principal trading city of China, is administered under the Land

[16] T. W. Hu: "The Case for China," *Chinese Social and Political Science Review*, 1926, Vol. 10, pp. 550-1.

[17] C. L. Malone: *op. cit.*, p. 14.

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Regulations, approved by the diplomatic body at Peking. The population of the International Settlement consists of 830,000 Chinese and 21,000 foreigners. Although the Chinese make up 98 per cent of the population of this city on Chinese territory, and although they pay the bulk of the taxes, the International Settlement is administered entirely by foreigners (*Ibid.*).

The question of extraterritoriality was raised at the Washington Conference in resolutions passed on December 10, 1921. The Chinese delegation had asked that the Powers represented at the Washington Conference should relinquish their extraterritorial rights in China at the end of a specified period.[18] The Conference resolutions provided for a Commission "to inquire into the present practice of extraterritorial jurisdiction in China." The Commission was to be composed of one delegate from each of the Powers that were parties to the Conference. It was to meet within three months. Each of the powers was to be "free to accept or to reject all or any portion of the recommendations of the Commission" (*Ibid.*, pp. 119-120). After many delays, this Commission finally met in 1925.

Sixteen nations have special treaty privileges in China. In June, 1925, China addressed an identical note to each, asking that the unequal treaties be revised. On December 8, 1926, the Chinese Minister to the United States, in a speech on the "Cause and Cure of War," used these significant words regarding the revision of the unequal treaties: "If this action is delayed, it should not cause surprise if the Chinese nation should, by their own unilateral act, declare those treaties at an end."[19] It was at this time that China abrogated the Sino-Belgian Treaty of 1865. (Full statement of the Chinese position in the *Nation,* January 19, 1927, pp. 75-6.)

[18] W. W. Willoughby: *China at the Conference,* Baltimore, 1922, p. 116.

[19] Yang Kwang-sheng: "China Abrogating Unfair Treaties," *Current History,* February, 1927, p. 700.

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9. *Seizure of Chinese Territory*

Political control by the empires in China was accompanied by the seizure of Chinese territory and its incorporation into the holdings of the various empires.

China suffered at the hands of the empires, in this respect, very much as other portions of Asia and all of Africa suffered during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The empires were better organized and armed than the Africans and the Asiatics. Consequently when they came upon a choice piece of land, a mineral deposit, timber, a good market for European goods, or any other economic advantage that they desired, they took possession of it, peacefully, if the natives did not object, and by force of arms if the natives resisted. In this way they wrested much valuable territory from China.

China resisted the earlier attacks of the imperialists upon her sovereignty and her territory. But as defeat followed defeat, the Chinese accepted imperialism as inevitable, and put up only the feeblest opposition to its demands.

Briefly, the division of China by the Powers has taken the following course:

1840-42—The First Opium War between China and Great Britain. China defeated. Hongkong ceded to Great Britain. Shanghai, Ningpo, Canton, Foochow and Amoy opened to foreign trade. Indemnity of twenty-one million dollars paid by China.

1852-64—Taiping Peasant Rebellion. Begun in the south of China, where the British had been most active in their work of exploitation. Rebellion finally quelled with the assistance of British and American volunteers.

1856-60—Second Opium War between Great Britain and France on one side and China on the other. China defeated. Peking taken and sacked. Kowloon ceded to Britain. Eight more ports opened to foreign trade. Opium trade and teaching of Christianity in China legalized. Customs reduced. Consular

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and mixed courts provided for. China paid four million dollars indemnity.

1858—Russia, by treaty, obtained 360,000 square miles of territory, including 600 miles of coast line on the Pacific.

1862—British annexed Lower Burma (tributary to China).

1873—Britain demanded and secured the opening of five more treaty ports.

1876—Chefoo Convention by which Great Britain secured virtual control of the Yang-tse valley.

1884-5—Tonking War between France and China. China paid ten million dollars as an indemnity. Annam ceded to France.

1886—Britain annexed Upper Burma.

1887—Macao seized by Portugal.

1893-4—Great Britain and France partitioned a portion of Siam, a Chinese dependency.

1894-5—War with Japan. China defeated. Japan secured Formosa. Korea declared "independent." China paid an indemnity of 100 million dollars.

1897-8—Russia seized Dalny and Port Arthur. Secured a twenty-five year lease of Port Arthur as a naval base. Germany seized Kiaochow, secured a ninety-nine year lease, and a concession to build a railroad from Kiaochow to Tsinan, and to exploit coal and ore along the line. Britain seized Wai-hai-wei; secured a twenty-five year lease to establish a naval base. At the same time China agreed not to grant concessions in the Yang-tse valley to other powers than Great Britain. France leased Kwanchowan. "By 1899, in all China's three thousand miles of coast line, there was not a harbor in which she could mobilize her own ships without the consent of the hated foreigner."

1899—Open Door policy declared by the United States, all Powers agreeing. All nations to respect China's sovereignty, and to enjoy equal trade rights.

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1899-1900—Boxer Rebellion. Suppressed by an international force representing eight of the great powers. Peking taken and pillaged.. Military guards provided at various points. Legation quarter in Peking to be fortified. Indemnity paid by China, 450 million taels, over a period of thirty-nine years, with interest at 4 per cent. Indemnity to be met by maritime customs, collected by foreigners and deposited in foreign banks.

1900-1—Russia occupied Manchuria. Agreed to withdraw, but failed to do so. Led Anglo-Japanese Alliance of January, 1902, and resulted in Russo-Japanese War.

1904—Great Britain invaded Thibet—a Chinese dependency.

1904-5—Russo-Japanese War. Fought largely on Chinese soil. Won by Japan. Japan took over Russian rights in Southern Manchuria.

1910—Russo-Japanese agreement. Japan to annex Korea. Russia to take Mongolia.

1911—Japan annexed Korea.

1915—Japan seized the German possessions in Shantung; imposed the Twenty-one Demands upon China.

1916—China entered the Great War.

1919—Peace Conference refused to recognize China's plea and restore her sovereignty. Assigned German rights in Shantung to Japan.

As a result of these many predatory acts, the principal Powers secured title to portions of the Chinese Empire. Some of them gained thousands of square miles. Others merely held small concessions.[20]

Imperialists like Baron Shidehara have adopted a lofty tone when speaking of Chinese relations: "We have constantly kept in view the safeguarding of our rightful position, and, in particular, of our rights and interests in Manchuria and Mongolia. It needs hardly to be said that our concern is not con-

[20] For a list of all concessions, arranged by countries holding them, *see* G. Dubarbier: *La Chine Contemporaine,* Paris, 1926, pp. 332-5.

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fined to the condition of affairs in Manchuria and Mongolia alone. We are interested in the whole of China to an extent and in a degree absolutely essential to our national existence." [21] While Baron Shidehara's expressions are general enough, his intentions are obvious.

Others, less bound by the exigencies of diplomatic life, are more outspoken: "That the motive of foreigners was money-making—or land-stealing—the Chinese have fully discovered." [22] The parcelling of China, "disguised under some railway loan and properly called a conquest by railroad and bank, was primarily incited by the natural pressure of financial and industrial forces seeking expansion from the constricted confines of the stronger, more advanced and over-populated manufacturing countries—although it cannot be denied that one or two of the Powers had motives of a purely political character" (*Ibid.*, p. 271).

Within a few decades great portions of the rich and very populous territory comprising the Chinese Empire had been swallowed up by the modern financial empires. Had Japan been successful in enforcing her Twenty-one Demands (1915), Chinese sovereignty would have been virtually extinguished.

10. *Guns and Gunboats*

How were the Powers able to achieve such phenomenal results in land-stealing? With guns and gunboats, of course. They won in the successive contests because their military machinery was stronger than that of the Chinese.

At the outset, the Powers found it necessary to wage war in order to enforce their demands on China—witness 1840, 1857, 1884, 1894. In these cases, it was the general practice, after the defeat of the Chinese, to exact:

[21] *Chinese Students' Monthly,* June, 1925, Vol. 20, p. 17.

[22] T. W. Overlach: *Foreign Financial Control in China,* New York, 1919, pp. 272-3.

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a. More territory.

b. Additional commercial privileges.

c. An indemnity covering the costs of the war.

This practice was initiated by the British at the close of the First Opium War:

a. Hongkong was ceded to Britain.

b. Five other commercial ports were opened.

c. China agreed to an indemnity of twenty-one million dollars.

Japan followed the same procedure after the Sino-Japanese War, when:

a. Korea was declared independent (literally, turned over to Japan); Formosa and certain other islands were ceded to Japan.

b. Four treaty ports were opened.

c. China agreed to pay Japan a war indemnity of 100 million dollars.

After the Boxer Movement (1900) China was at the mercy of the Powers. During the twentieth century, foreign military intervention in China merely took the form of "demonstrations."

Armed foreigners remained constantly on Chinese soil. Under the Boxer Protocol of 1901, about 5,000 legation guards were maintained in Peking, and at various other strategic points in north China. These guards were American, British, French, Italian and Japanese. Other foreign military forces were maintained on Chinese territory. "A Japanese army division is normally stationed in South Manchuria, while sixteen independent battalions of railroad guards, each unit numbering over 600 rank and file, can be maintained under the Treaty of Portsmouth." [23] Local corps, such as the Shanghai Volunteer Corps, numbering 1,500 men, are armed and drilled in the various international settlements. Finally, foreign naval

[23] C. Hedges: "China Shackled by Treaty Powers," *Current History*, April, 1926, p. 88.

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flotillas, some of the boats built especially for the purpose, patrol the harbors and rivers of China in the interests of foreign business.

In a crisis like that of the fall of 1926 and the spring of 1927 the Powers had more than 150 warships in Chinese waters, and 45,000 soldiers in the international settlements and concessions. When occasion offered, they used their guns on the Chinese population without mercy. The Chinese were no longer able to fight back. Consequently there could be no war, but the Powers treated the Chinese as though they were at war, bombarding Wanhsien in 1926 and Nanking in 1927. The former bombardment was British. The latter was initiated by the United States at a signal from Socony Hill (New York *Times,* March 30, 1927) and was participated in by the British. Hundreds of Chinese were killed in these bombardments.

The Chinese, until quite recently, were unorganized, unarmed, and in their international relations, largely pacifist. The Powers helped themselves to the land of China, and when the Chinese objected, the Powers used guns. The process might be described as international highway robbery accompanied by murder.

11. *Japan's Twenty-one Demands*—1915

British statesmen made generous promises during the War of 1914. There was much talk of "war to end war"; of "rights of small peoples"; of "self-determination." Americans followed suit. Not so Japan.

As soon as the war was well under way, Japan determined to take for herself the German holdings in China as she had taken the Russian holdings in 1905. She did this with ease.

These gains were only a beginning. Japan followed her seizure of German territory in China by presenting to the Chinese Government Twenty-one Demands, which, in effect, placed the foreign and domestic affairs of China, including its

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chief economic activities, in the hands of Japan. These demands were typical of imperialism the world over. They were similar, in many respects, to the demands made by the United States upon Mexico in 1913 and upon Haiti in 1915. They petrified Chinese diplomats and business men alike for both saw themselves, like Formosa and Korea, passing inexorably under the Japanese imperial yoke.

Japan began negotiations on January 18, 1915. On May 7, she sent an ultimatum.[24] On May 9, 1915, President Yuan Shih-kai yielded to the pressure and consented to sign for China. The Chinese version of the original text is printed in *China and the Nations,* pp. 78-83.

The first four of the demands related to Shantung. Japan was to have all German rights in the peninsula, and China agreed not to cede to any other nation islands on the coast of Shantung; Japan was to secure certain railroad-building privileges, and "all important cities of Shantung" were to be opened immediately for foreign residence and trade.

The next seven demands concerning Manchuria and Mongolia, were prefaced with the phrase: "The Japanese and Chinese Governments in accordance with China's accepted acknowledgment of the superior position occupied by Japan in Southern Manchuria and Eastern Inner Mongolia." Certain Japanese railroad concessions were extended to ninety-nine years; the Japanese were to be free "to obtain such land concessions or rights of tenure as may be necessary for the erection of buildings and factories, and for commerce, industry, and agriculture"; Japanese were to be free to reside and travel in these territories; mining privileges were to be extended to Japan, both in Manchuria and in Mongolia; China was to secure Japanese consent before allowing other nations to build railways or make loans in this territory; and China was to consult Japan before employing political, financial, or military advisers or instructors in Manchuria and Mongolia.

[24] **Wong Chin-wai:** ***op. cit.,*** **pp. 76-7.**

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The third group of demands was prefaced by the statement that Japan and China "desire to further the present intimate relationships between the Japanese capitalists and the Han-yangtze and Pinshan coal and iron industries." Japan and China were to coöperate in these ventures, and other nations are virtually excluded.

China agreed, under the fourth group of demands, that no "harbor, gulf, or group of islands along the Chinese coast shall be ceded to any other nation."

The final group of six demands included provisions that: "In the Central Government of China influential Japanese shall be invited as political, financial and military advisers"; "certain amounts of ammunition shall be bought from Japan"; "the police in all important centers shall be under Sino-Japanese control. All the police stations in such places must employ a majority of Japanese." Other items referred to railway, mining and harbor concessions.

The Twenty-one Demands were frankly economic. They were obviously intended to procure for Japan the mineral and other resources of which she stands in such desperate need, and to hold China as a preferred field for the investment of Japanese capital and the marketing of Japanese goods.

But the Japanese overshot their mark. On the one side, their demand for a virtual monopoly of the economic development of great portions of China aroused the British and American Empires to vigorous protest. The exigencies of imperial competition would not admit of any such control. On the other hand the insolent assurance with which Japan aimed to take control of Chinese public life may be regarded as the turning point in modern Chinese history. The ruling class in China saw its fate clearly outlined. The youth of China saw their fatherland engulfed. The Japanese attitude as expressed in the Twenty-one Demands left no shadow of doubt that the one hope for China lay in the adoption, by the Chinese people, of a vigorous, aggressive policy of nationalism.

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12. *The Peace Conference*

The Chinese, like the delegates of many other oppressed peoples, went to the Paris Peace Conference with high hopes. The Allies had won. War was at an end. Democracy and the rights of the weak at last were to be guaranteed through an equitable adjustment of international affairs. China had suffered grievously under the old system of imperialism. Therefore, she had much to ask of the Conference.

Briefly, the Chinese proposals at the Peace Conference included:

a. The abolition of foreign spheres of influence in China.

b. Return to China of the concessions and foreign settlements held by the imperialists.

c. Withdrawal of foreign control of the Chinese postal service; the Chinese telegraphs; the Chinese wireless.

d. Abolition of extraterritorial rights in China.

e. The granting of tariff autonomy to the Chinese Government.

f. Withdrawal from China of the foreign troops and police.

These demands of the Chinese were equivalent to the recognition, by the Conference, of a Chinese sovereignty that was on a par with that of the sovereign states of Europe. Mr. Wong, after listing these demands, makes this quaint observation: "The language employed was cautiously moderate, that there might be no suspicion of ungentlemanly behavior." [25] "Ungentlemanly behavior" after four years of slaughter on the European battlefields!

Responding to these gentlemanly phrases, the Chairman of the Peace Conference wrote: "This Conference sufficiently recognizes the importance of this problem, but cannot regard it as coming within the scope of this Peace Conference" (*Ibid.*,

[25] *Op. cit.*, p. 93.

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p. 94). That was all the Chinese got for their participation in the World War, and their gentle demands for right and justice. Later, however, the Conference transferred to Japan the rights which the German Empire had seized in Shantung (Articles 156 and 258 of the Treaty of 1919) and which Japan had wrested from Germany by force of arms in the opening months of the World War.

The Chinese had cast in their lot with the Allies in the struggle for "democracy and peace." Their delegates at Paris asked, humbly, for the elemental rights of sovereignty. The victorious allied empires, by way of reply, turned over the war spoils of Shantung—an integral part of China—to the Japanese Empire, which only four years previously had forced on the Chinese the notorious Twenty-one Demands.

13. *The Washington Conference*

Western imperialists had one more lesson to teach China. At Paris they had showed the Chinese delegation, beyond the shadow of a doubt, that gentle phrases gained nothing but scorn and humiliation at the hands of modern empires, bent on their economic advancement. At Washington the Chinese learned that the Powers were unwilling to let one empire grab the whole of a choice repast such as that offered by the defenseless Chinese people.

Although the Conference was concerned primarily with China, that nation was represented only in a limited capacity.[26] When the Four-Power Treaty was signed, December 13, 1921, China did not participate. She was a party to the Nine-Power Treaties of February 6, 1922. In these latter treaties the contracting parties, other than China, agreed to respect "the sovereignty, the independence, and the territorial and administrative integrity of China" (*Ibid.*, p. 371).

[26] W. W. Willoughby: *China at the Conference*, Baltimore, 1922, pp. 9-10.

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Japan was forced to recede from the Twenty-one Demands. The British and the American Empires saw to that. Shantung was returned to China, but "equal opportunity for the commerce and industry of all nations throughout the territory of China" was to be insured. Extraterritoriality remained. The foreign troops and police stayed in China. All of the old violations of sovereignty were continued, but they were to be shared by the "Concert of Empires" instead of being turned over to the Japanese alone.

When the Washington Conference ended, imperialism was more firmly entrenched than ever. All of the leading empires had agreed to coöperate in partitioning the spoils of a helpless China.

14. *Social Control—Propaganda*

Social control was a necessary accompaniment of the economic and political advantages enjoyed by the empires in China. If the imperialists were to be successful in their efforts to exploit China and the Chinese, there must be some effective means of answering possible Chinese objections to this exploitation. The imperialists met the need by organizing their own propaganda machine.

Initially, the propaganda for the imperialists was carried on largely by missionaries. The subsequent development of a press and of news agencies added greatly to its effectiveness. The education of large numbers of Chinese students in the leading imperial countries contributed to the campaign. China was constantly impressed with the idea that the West was superior and that the East was inferior.

One of the earliest efforts of the imperial nations to establish themselves was embodied in the demand that Christianity should be freely taught in China. This demand was finally conceded in 1860. The various religious bodies throughout the imperial world then begged money for the conversion of the

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"heathen Chinese," and build up an immense propaganda system throughout China." [27]

Until the War of 1914 the British missionary interests, like British trade, predominated. In 1907 they made up 52 per cent of the total, while the United States had but 37 per cent. With the rapid shift in the economic position of the United States, and the growth of its interests in the Far East, the emphasis on Chinese missions has been increased. The United States now sends about ten million dollars a year into the Chinese mission field—an amount which no other nation can hope to duplicate. "Increasingly the missionary invasion of China is an American campaign, conducted by Americans, with American methods of statistical efficiency, gymnasium camouflage, mass-advertising propaganda and Rotary Club enthusiasm." [28]

About two and a half million Chinese call themselves Christians. In the 7,000 mission schools, there is a daily attendance of more than 300,000 children. The missionary organization is an immense and highly specialized means of inculcating western ideas into the Chinese (*Ibid.*).

The foreign press in China performs a somewhat similar rôle, assisted by the foreign news syndicates. An excellent picture of the attitude taken by the foreign journalist toward China will be found in *Why China Sees Red* (P. Weale, New York, 1925, Chapter V). The author is contemptuous of the journalistic efforts of the Chinese. He feels about them very much as Englishmen felt about the institutions that were being built up in the English Colonies in America before 1783.

That is the heart of the matter. The foreigners preach the superiority of the West and the westerners as a race, until they succeed in establishing a racial and national inferiority

[27] For a list of religious missions and missionaries and of the special treaties providing for the exercise of the Christian religion in China, *see* G. Dubarbier: *loc. cit.*, pp. 339 *ff.*

[28] L. Gannett: *Young China*, New York, 1927, p. 13.

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complex in China. That task had been very thoroughly done by the beginning of the present century. The Chinese looked up to western ideas, just as they looked up to western gunboats. In a pinch, both seemed to serve the purpose better than those of China.

15. *Imperial Superiority*

Since the imperialists were superior and the Chinese were inferior, it followed that the Chinese were excluded from participation in social activity on an equal basis with the imperialists. The imperialists were compelled to emphasize this line of cleavage in order to protect their privileges. The Chinese were forced to recognize it, and crossed it at their peril.

The cleavage between the two groups was reflected in the unequal treaties; in the special economic privileges enjoyed by the foreigners; in the open and frequent violation of Chinese sovereignty; in the policing of China by imperial soldiers and warships. It appeared no less openly and far more intimately in the ordinary social relationships.

Chinese are excluded by the foreigners from public places in China, simply because they are Chinese. Colonel Malone, as lately as May, 1926, took a picture of the notice-board at the entrance to the Shanghai Municipal Gardens, excluding bicycles, dogs and Chinese. The most offensive phrases have since been modified, but in effect bicycles, dogs and Chinese are still excluded. In September, 1927, an elevator in a big office building at 4 Avenue Edward VII, Shanghai, carried a notice which read: "Chinese clerks employed in the building will kindly avail themselves of western entrance and lifts. No coolies or messengers, except Post Office Messengers, are permitted to use this lift." Instances of a similar sort might be multiplied. The Chinese, in their own country, are pushed into the background by foreigners.

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The facts of this discrimination are less emphasized than its manner. The foreigners in China treat the Chinese workers with whom they come into contact in the most peremptory fashion. "Here, boy," to the servant, "get my hat." "That is enough," to the ricksha coolie, "now get out!" "No," said a Chinese servant, "I prefer to work in a missionary family, even though the wages are smaller. In the missionary family I am never kicked like a dog." Colonel Malone wrote: "During the recent troubles in Hankow, a British 'China-hand,' who had lived for many years in China, informed us, through the medium of the British press that the Hankow coolies . . . are humanly little more than domesticated animals."[29] A few thousand foreigners in China, living on the fat of the land, are exploiting the Chinese masses and deliberately forcing them into a position of inferiority in order that they may the more readily accept the vassal status which they now occupy. The imperialists in China treat the Chinese workers as imperialists always must treat exploited masses.

Imperialists in China are exploiting more than the workers, however. They are exploiting the whole Chinese people. They must therefore extend their discrimination to all classes of the Chinese population. In the foreign settlements of the principal Chinese cities, Chinese are excluded from the hotels and clubs with the same ruthlessness that servants and coolies are cursed and cuffed.

Take Shanghai, the principal port of China, as an illustration. Chinese and foreigners have been doing business together and meeting each other daily for generations, yet the social lines between the imperialists and the natives are sharply drawn. "Shanghai is a club city. Every nationality, practically, has its club and some have two. The leading business men's club is the Shanghai Club, with its famous longest bar in the world. This was organized by Englishmen years ago and probably has a membership of 1,500, all foreigners. . . .

[29] *New China, op. cit.*, Part II, p. 13.

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The citizens of the U. S. A., about ten years ago, started their American Club, which now has approximately a thousand members, occupies its million dollar building, and excludes Chinese. Both Americans and British have their 'country' or recreation clubs, which bar the Chinese from membership. The French have recently opened a palatial club, but here again no Chinese are ever proposed for membership. The Japanese likewise have a business men's club, which excludes Chinese from membership, but which permits Japanese members to entertain Chinese friends as 'visitors'." [30]

Harry F. Ward, who was in China at the time of the Shanghai Massacre, in May, 1925, was greatly impressed by this attitude of foreign arrogance. The only use certain foreigners have for the Chinese is "to make money out of them, and while they are doing it they curse them with contempt, and cuff and kick them when they dare. One of their spokesmen offers the opinion that there are slave races in the world and that the Chinese are one of them, and unfortunately this attitude is too liberally represented in the English-speaking press out here. The day after the shooting in Shanghai the Chinese press was restrained in its editorial comment. Then came some editorials in the English press taking the position that the superior race could do no wrong, laying all the blame on the Chinese with strong language." [31]

While (imperialist) superiority in China has a root that is obviously economic, missionaries, teachers, doctors and business men who come from the imperial countries live on a scale of economic superiority. They have big houses. They employ many servants. Their food rations far exceed those of the average Chinaman. They are much better clothed. They import foreign delicacies for their tables and foreign luxuries for their houses.

[30] J. B. Powell: "Racial Lines in Shanghai," *World To-Morrow,* May, 1927, p. 206.

[31] *Nation,* July 22, 1925, p. 109.

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In the case of the business man this high scale of living should occasion no surprise. Does he not enjoy an equal standard of conspicuous consumption in his native land? But, strange though it may appear, the average missionary and teacher in China also takes it for granted that he should enjoy a scale of living far above that of the Chinese with whom he works. Men and women who, in the United States, would never dream of having a servant, in China have maids and valets in addition to a kitchen staff.

When this question is raised, the missionary answers:

a. That the Chinese people come and beg for work, and that the eight or ten dollars a month which they receive will keep a whole Chinese family, although it is only a trifle to a foreigner.

b. That the Chinese do not respect a foreigner who does his own work.

c. That no white man could live on the pitifully low standard of the Chinese workers.

Grant the truth of all these contentions, and it nevertheless remains true that the foreigner who goes to help the Chinaman, begins by helping himself to a standard of comfort that only the very rich in China can afford.

Thus, to the concessions, settlements, compounds, and other forms of economic advantage which the imperialists enjoy in China, there must be added this unfailing indication of his superior position: he is able to live on a standard that is manifestly above that of the ordinary native. This is as true of schools and missions as it is of business houses. It extends throughout the whole field of imperial occupation. In many cases the same force—the army and navy—that is called in to protect the imperial merchant and banker is also called in to protect the missionary and the school teacher from the same imperial country. The life of the foreigners in China is lived apart from the life of the Chinese—how, otherwise, could one group continue to exploit the other?

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Race superiority enters into the most commonplace as well as the most weighty of affairs. The good things of life are for the foreigners, who have the Chinese at their mercy, with social standards, with dollars, if need be, with guns.

China is saddled and bridled. The imperialists and their fellow-countrymen are booted and spurred and riding madly. Tolstoi wrote that the rich are willing to do anything for the poor except get off their backs. He might have added that the moment the rich get off the backs of the poor, they cease to be rich, and must struggle for their living side by side with the rest. The same is true of imperialist exploiters: imperialism consists in riding subject peoples. If the imperialists got down, they would no longer be imperialists but just ordinary humans like those they are now exploiting.

16. *The Imperialists in China: Hongkong*

Hongkong sums up the relations between the empires and China during the past eighty years.

Great Britain took Hongkong from China at the end of the First Opium War (1842). Eighteen years later a strip of territory on the neighboring mainland—Kowloon—was also seized by the British. Between Hongkong and Kowloon lies one of the finest harbors in the world—deep, spacious, completely surrounded by high hills.

Hongkong is a rugged island with an area of thirty square miles lying at the gateway to South China. The port is thronged with the commerce between Europe, the Americas and southern Asia.

Although the Island of Hongkong is rugged and inaccessible, the British have made the most of its limited possibilities. Its docks and warehouses are ample and modern. It has fine buildings, wide, clean streets, excellent hotels, good street-car and ferry service. Bridges and terraces have been constructed, and splendid roads have been built to various parts of the

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Island. The city has a good water system; an efficient municipal government. All about are the signs of law and order, accepted, enforced.

Grim fortifications overlook Hongkong. Imperial battleships ride at anchor in its harbor. Airplanes circle. Indian regiments come and go. It is a Gibraltar of the East—alive with sailors, soldiers, drilling, parading, maneuvering. Hongkong is "prepared" for military activities with a completeness never attained by any Chinese city.

Shops, warehouses, docks, cruisers, guns—organized business and organized might: these are the contributions of the imperialists to Hongkong.

Thus, in a few decades, the British have made of Hongkong what the Chinese might not have made of it in centuries—a modern business city of the first magnitude.

Hongkong is not all British. Quite the contrary. The population of Hongkong consists of 610,368 Chinese, 8,359 Europeans and 4,497 other foreigners. The workers on the docks, in the warehouses, on the streets, in the stone-quarries, on the new construction work—all are Chinese. The small shopkeepers are almost all Chinese. Even in the foreign-controlled stores, the clerks are generally Chinese. Many little Chinese workshops turn out furniture, baskets, food-products, leather-goods, metal tools and implements. Chinese jewelers design and execute their intricate, delicate patterns in jade, ivory, gold. Many of the larger jobbing houses are Chinese, as are some of the more important banks. Foreigners control only the big businesses. Economically, Hongkong is almost wholly a Chinese city.

Most of Hongkong—the Chinese city—lies near the harbor-level, in a sort of pocket under the hills. The steep sides of the island run almost to the water's edge. From the narrow level strip on the water front—the business center of Hongkong—the streets begin to climb, more and more steeply, until as footways, they emerge on the high points and rocky shoulders

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that look out over purple-green hills and blue water patches spread for miles in every direction.

Down in the harbor-bottom during the summer months it is hot—terrible in the daytime; sometimes equally terrible by night. Along the hillsides, breezes almost always blow.

High up there on the mountain sides, above the sweat and noise of docks and shops and busy streets, live the foreigners. In hotels, apartment houses, private mansions and Governor's Palace they live, on the best that Hongkong has to offer in the way of light, air, color, and beauty of earth and sky, of food, service, comfort.

Motor cars and rickshas cannot climb the steep slopes to the living quarters of the foreigners, but two coolies, with a sedan chair between them, can accomplish the ascent in a surprisingly short space of time. Then there is a cable road on which one can go all the way to the top for fifteen cents in American money. Thus the foreigners are able to get from their offices at the water level to their mountain-nestling homes with expedition and little effort.

All of the traffic up the hillside does not go in sedan chairs and on the cable-cars, however. They carry passengers. There is also a freight road up the side of the hill—a path so steep that on wet days it is almost unwalkable in spots, despite the fact that it is excellently paved with scored asphalt.

Along this freight road toil the carriers of Hongkong: men and women and children, with bricks, cement, lumber, food, tools, utensils. A man goes by with a carrying pole on his shoulder. One end of the pole is fastened to a bag of cement; the other to a small bundle of bricks. A second carrier swings past with two baskets of vegetables. Two women come around a bend in the path. Between them they have a big basket of fruit on a pole. Three women are lugging five bundles of bamboo poles that are to be used for a scaffolding near the top of the hill. One woman hooks her carrying pole to a bundle of bamboo, tugs it up thirty or forty yards, sets it down, un-

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hooks her pole, and goes back for one of the other bundles. With their five bundles these three women make less than a quarter of a mile in an hour. The sun beats intolerably. They sweat and pant and labor on. Yonder are two women carrying up boards—two green, twelve inch boards, an inch thick and twenty feet long. Each board weighs forty or fifty pounds. They are pliable, and do not carry well. The two women carry one board a little distance, lay it down, go back for the other board, and so make their toilsome way up the hill. A man goes by with a set of tinsmith's tools and some sheet iron, fastened to his carrying pole. Thus the procession passes from daylight to dark; and thus the material for the building of the high, pleasantly situated houses finds its way from the harbor level, up the stubborn hillside, on the backs of the Chinese people.

The sun sets. Night falls. The long line of human pack animals that has fought against the exhausting heat and the steep hill all day long, stops to rest. The foreigners have traveled in sedan chairs and cable cars to their cool hotels and houses. Down in the Chinese city the air is still dull and heavy with the burning heat of brick and stone and cement that have stood all day under a merciless sun. The narrow streets and narrower courts and alleys swarm with human beings who are fanning themselves and panting for fresh air. Hundreds of Chinese workers spread out their strips of matting along the edges of the pavements nearest the fronts of the closed stores, slip a brick, covered with newspaper, or a small block of wood, under their heads for pillows, and prepare to pass the night. A woman sits under one of the arches of the post office. On the matting beside her there are three little children. The oldest may be six. Two sleep soundly. The youngest is restless. His head is bound with a cloth, and the mother, watching anxiously as he moves from side to side, strokes his hand, murmurs something to him, and looks about helplessly. She sees nothing except the few scraps left from

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their pavement-supper, turns back, resignedly, and falls to stroking her sick child again.

That is Hongkong. A magnificent, efficient, commercial success, defended with all of the latest devices for wholesale murder. The foreigners conduct the big business of the city, but for all that, Hongkong is Chinese, in its workers, its shops and markets, its houses, its food and clothing. The foreign fringe is to be seen only here and there. Imperialists and exploiters live about the crown of the Island. Day by day the Chinese luggers crawl up from the harbor-level with food, clothing, entertainment. At night they slink back—to heat, hard stones, and despair. Hongkong is an "open port," with a halo of foreign luxury about its high hills, but it is built upon tens of thousands of native slaves who live in ghastly poverty.

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III

ENTER THE SOVIET UNION

1. *The Russian Revolution*

GENERATIONS of Russian rulers had tried to extend their power over Asia. They had bargained and fought for the Dardanelles as their readiest means of establishing a warm water seaport; with Britain they had portioned Persia; against Britain, they had intrigued in India; they had grabbed portions of China, and in 1904 they had risked a war with Japan, as a means of furthering their Far Eastern interests. Like the rulers of other European empires, the Russian ruling class saw in Asia a chance for a golden harvest. Like their fellow-imperialists they did what they could to gain possession of the most desirable Asiatic territories.[1]

The Russian Revolution of 1917 began a new era of relationships between the Central Government, the "little peoples," and the neighbors of the Soviet Union. The Revolution isolated the Soviet Union from Western Europe, leaving Asia as the logical field for Soviet activity.

Like the other European empires Tsarist Russia was founded, economically, on the system of business for profit, through the private ownership of productive tools. Under this system the principal units of economic activity—the factories, the mines, the banks—were held by private business interests who made what profit they could out of them. To be sure, in the case of Russia, many of these business enterprises were actually

[1] Henry K. Norton: in H. G. W. Woodhead, *Occidental Interpretations,* Chicago, 1926, chapter "The Russians in the Far East, pp. 201 *ff.*; S. A. Korff: "Russia in the Near East," *American Journal International Law,* 1923, 17: 258 *ff.*

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owned by French, German, and British investors. Still the form of economy was that of the great exploiting empires.

Three chief factors contributed to the profitableness of these private business ventures: (1) plentiful raw materials; (2) cheap labor; (3) a good market. Asia offered all three. It was for these reasons that the European empires pressed so hard into the Near East, India and China. Making allowance for her economic backwardness, Russia was not a whit behind her rivals in imperial ambitions and practices.

The Russian Revolution involved the social ownership and control of the chief economic enterprises, such as factories, mines, and banks. No longer were the industries of the country run for the purpose of yielding profits to a business class. Instead, an economy was inaugurated, the aim of which was to feed, clothe, and house the population and to provide them with leisure and cultural opportunities. Under this new economy the economic surplus went into capital improvements and higher standards of living at home rather than into profit-yielding investments abroad.

This shift in the form of economy removed the economic pressure in the direction of foreign exploitation. Representatives of the Soviet coöperatives and trading agencies had no more economic interest in the exploitation of neighboring resources and peoples. On the contrary, it was to their interest to unite with these peoples in building a coöperative form of society that would yield the greatest net economic advantage to all concerned.

The economic system that the Soviet authorities put into operation centered around the idea of a "unit economic plan." Under this system the nation ceased to be regarded as the unit of economic activity. Instead, economic lines were to run where economic interests led. These questions of the lines of economic interest were to be determined by an economic planning body that should work out the general formula for economic development. Within the Soviet Union this central

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planning body was the State Planning Commission. Outside of the Soviet Union treaties were to be drawn in such a way that both parties to the contract should share in the economic advantages that were brought by the new economic relations.

Thus the Soviet economy, instead of being rooted, like capitalist imperialism, in competition and exploitation, was rooted in coöperation. The new system of coöperative economy was to be built up, not within one nation-state, but wherever mutual economic interests were established.

Economic exploitation necessarily depends, to a greater or less degree, upon political coercion; when imperialists exploited economically, they coerced politically. Political coercion was a necessary aspect of imperial development. In the half century that began with 1870 the empires of Europe took possession of Africa and of many parts of Asia that had not already fallen under imperial control. Protectorates, spheres of influence, colonies, dependencies, were all subject to the police power of parent empires. The facts are given in great detail by P. T. Moon: *Imperialism,* New York, 1926.

The Soviet Union, aiming to coöperate economically, must, perforce, find some means of coöperating politically. The leaders of the new economy hit on the idea of local cultural self-determination.

What does local cultural self-determination mean? It means that the peoples who desire to do so may speak and teach their own language; maintain their own social institutions; follow their own customs; continue their own traditions.

One of the bitterest penalties of imperial domination has been the imposition of the imperial language, the imperial religion, the imperial legal code, the imperial social standards. The Russian Empire was one of the most flagrant offenders in this direction. The racial and national minorities that lived under Tsarist sway were Russianized with the knout.

The Russian Revolution reconstructed foreign policy. In the place of exploitation and coercion it put economic co-

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operation under a unit plan, coupled with local cultural self-determination. The combination tied the weaker and less developed peoples to the Soviet Union with the bonds of economic interest at the same time that it left them free to follow their several cultural paths. This meant coöperation in economic essentials with social free choice.

What more complete answer could be found to the protests of the exploited peoples against modern imperialism? What more logical solution could be formulated for the causes of national conflict in Europe and Asia? In essence, of course, the Soviet scheme was not a social *remedy* but an alternative social *system*. The question naturally arose: Will this system work?

The new Soviet plan for handling relations with the racial minorities and with the exploited peoples had its first real test in Asia. It was there that the field of capitalist exploitation was the largest and that the pressure of capitalist exploitation had been the most severe. It was in Asia, therefore, that the methods of imperialism and the methods of the Soviets must be tried out in open competition.

2. *The West Breaks with Soviet Russia*

The Soviet movement into Asia arose logically out of the situation in that continent. Hundreds of millions there had suffered under the lash of imperial domination. Revolts were already under way in China, India, Turkey, Persia, before the Russian Revolution began.

There was another factor that determined the course of Soviet policy in Asia: the attitude of the European empires.

Imperial Europe looks askance at the March Revolution. It suffered spasms of rage and terror after the Bolsheviks seized power in November, 1917. No effort was spared. No stone was left unturned. Hostility, lying propaganda, blockade, military invasion, subsidized counter-revolution were all

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tried in the course of the imperial struggle to restore "law and order" (the capitalist system) in Russia. These hostile demonstrations left the Soviet authorities no alternative.

Imperialism launched its first attack on the Russian Revolution in 1918, when a blockade of Russia was organized and so strictly maintained that even medicines, disinfectants, and milk for children were excluded from the country. Then, by the Treaty of Versailles, a series of border states was created, stretching from the Baltic to the Black Sea—the *cordon sanitaire* of French diplomacy—designed to keep Bolshevism bottled up in Russia until it was starved into submission. At the same time a military attack was made by the Allies on the Soviet Republic, both by direct invasion and, indirectly, by the generous support given to Denikin, Kolchak, Wrangel, and other counter-revolutionists, and to the Poles during the War of 1920. A world-wide campaign of anti-Soviet propaganda was vigorously prosecuted.

The earliest moves of the Soviet authorities looked toward the reëstablishment of trade relations on a basis that would permit Russia to export raw materials and to receive machinery and other needed articles in return. At the outset, however, these efforts were blocked by the demands of the Bolsheviks for a speedy peace conference, and by the attitude of the Soviet Government toward capital and toward foreign debts.

The Allies had established great depots at Archangel, Murmansk, and Vladivostok in order to supply Tsarist Russia with war materials. The Allies had advanced these materials on Russian Government loans. Since the Soviet authorities had repudiated these loans the Allies insisted that the materials were their property. British, French, and United States soldiers to the extent of about 12,000 were landed to protect the Murmansk and Archangel depots.[2] In April, 1918, Japanese troops occupied Vladivostok with the same stated purpose.

[2] A. L. P. Dennis: *The Foreign Policies of Soviet Russia*, New York, 1924, p. 65.

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Practically, however, the Allies were everywhere coming into conflict with the Soviets and giving their support to the former Russian landlords and capitalists. Where the Allies gained victories the Soviets were overthrown and the old Russian régime was returned to power. Thus the stage was set for a war against Soviet Russia by the great empires of the world.

The Allied military expeditions into Russia, having met with bitter hostility among the Russian people, and with discontent and mutiny among the soldiers engaged in them, the governments represented at Paris decided, in May and June, 1919, to support Admiral Kolchak, who was moving west through Siberia. At the same time General Denikin moved north from the Caucasus to form a junction with the Kolchak forces. Provided by the Allies with munitions and supplies, both expeditions enjoyed temporary success, but they could not hope to succeed in the long run, since the leaders in both camps "were at heart monarchists who could not reconcile themselves to the idea that the old days were gone forever." [3] The victories of Denikin were quite temporary and were made possible "largely by the supplies and munitions furnished by the British." [4]

The Soviet Union passed through a terrible period between 1918 and 1922. Shut off from the world, attacked by armies from without, torn from within by subsidized civil war, with production only a seventh of pre-war, overwhelmed by the unprecedented famine of 1921, uncounted thousands died on the battlefields, while millions perished from hunger, exposure, and preventable disease.

However great the apparent necessity and however strong the desire of the Soviet authorities to reëstablish communication and economic relations with the empires of the West, the persistent refusal of diplomatic recognition forced them to turn east for the building of their power.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 88.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 90.

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3. *The Soviet Union Bids for a Eurasian Bloc*

From its infancy the Russian Revolution denounced imperialism, including that formerly practiced by the Russian Empire. While it was exhausting every possibility of cooperation with nations of the West it was laying the foundations of its Far Eastern policy. When it became apparent that the Western blockade would be indefinitely continued, and that capitalist hostility was a permanent factor, Russia turned east because the East offered the only possible path of development for Soviet enterprise and diplomacy.

The Soviet Republic turned to an East of vast resources, of communal traditions, with its bitter experience of Western imperial aggression. She turned with four simple propositions: (1) that all forms of Russian imperial aggression had disappeared with Tsarism; (2) that each national or racial group formerly within the Russian Empire should enjoy the right of self-determination; (3) that the independence of independent Asiatic states like Afghanistan and Persia should be recognized and protected by the Soviets; (4) that these self-determining units of Eastern Europe and of Asia had but one possible means of protection—a united front in their resistance to Western imperial aggression.

This declared policy of the Soviet Republic was more than a political theory. She established it in her dealings with Turkey, with the Trans-Caucasian Republics, with Afghanistan, with Persia, and with the Far East.

Economic and social opportunities in Asia and the pressing necessity for some escape from the Western blockade led the Soviet Republic to formulate the major strategy of its Eastern policy along three general lines: (1) establishing intimate relations with Persia, Turkey and Afghanistan and thus cutting the British Empire in two by severing connections between Egypt and India; (2) winning China and other Far Eastern victims of Western imperialism; (3) securing an alliance with

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Japan by offering economic concessions which she could not afford to refuse.

The conception of these policies involved a statesmanship which visioned as its objective an economic and social unit stretching from the Baltic on the west to the Pacific on the east. The fulfillment of such a program necessitated a series of negotiations the ultimate object of which was the exclusion of Western imperialist nations from participation in the economic and social control of the Soviet Union.

The Soviet Union could not hope to win the Asiatic peoples by double-dealing. It had no economic reason for exploiting them. Manifestly its major policy lay in the coöperative linking of Eastern peoples. There were many ways in which this result could be achieved. One was to call together in congresses representatives of the various Eastern peoples, win their confidence and gain their support. Another way was to deal fairly with the racial minorities inside the Soviet Union. A third way was to treat the weaker neighboring countries in a manner that would win their confidence and support in the sincerity of Soviet Asiatic policy. In the course of the next few years the Soviet authorities resorted to all of these measures in their efforts to establish an Eurasian bloc.

4. *Oriental Congresses*

Beginning with the famous Baku Congress of September, 1920, the Soviet authorities made one attempt after another to unify Asiatic opinion against imperialism.

At the Baku Congress, Zinoviev, in the name of the Communist International, spoke in unmistakable language:

"Now, however, having for the first time met in a Congress of the Nations of the Orient, you must proclaim a real, holy war against these robbers, the Anglo-French capitalists. . . . The hour has struck when the workers of the entire world will be able to arouse and bring into motion tens and hundreds of

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millions of peasants, when they will be able in the Orient, too, to create a Red Army, will be able to arm themselves, will be able to organize insurrection in the rear of the English, will be able to throw off the firebrands among these robbers, will be able to make life miserable to every brazen-faced British officer lording it in Turkey, Persia, India, and China. . . . The Communist International today addresses itself to the nations of the Orient and says to them: 'Brothers! We call you, first of all, to a holy war against British imperialism.'" [5]

Equally militant was the manifesto issued by the representatives of China, Korea, Japan, Dutch East Indies, and other exploited countries of Asia who met in Moscow, January 21, 1922. After reciting the wrongs suffered at the hands of the Western imperialists, these delegates declared: "We wish to live and will take by force all that is ours by right, for we are the majority—there are hundreds of millions of us and our strength is in our unity. We declare war to the death on the Japanese, American, British, French and all other world rapacious plunderers. . . . Out with them from China and Korea, the Pacific Islands, Indo-China and the Dutch Indies. Out of the Far East!" [6]

At Congress after Congress the Communist International declared its policy regarding Eastern unity against Western imperial exploitation. The Red International of Labor Unions joined in the effort for unity. The latest of these labor congresses was held in Hankow, on May 1, 1927, by representatives of the labor movements in all of the important countries of Eastern Asia, Oceania and the East Indies.

Soviet authorities began by calling together representatives of Eastern *peoples*. After several years of experiment they were laying their emphasis on congresses of Eastern *labor*.

[5] Speech by Zinoviev, in *Stenographic Records of the First Congress of the Nations of the Orient at Baku,* September 1, 1920, pp. 47-48. Quoted by Dennis: *The Foreign Policies of Soviet Russia,* p. 234.

[6] "Proceedings, First Congress of the Toilers of the Far East," *Communist International,* Leningrad, 1922, p. 234.

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These congresses were, at best, merely opportunities for expressions of solidarity. The deeds were performed by the Soviet Government and by the various labor groups which cooperated in the task.

5. *Treatment of Minorities within the Soviet Union*

Nearest home were the minorities within the Soviet Union. Some of these groups, such as the Ukranians, Poles, and Georgians, had been in open conflict with the Tsarist autocracy for centuries. To these minorities the Soviet Union applied its formula: economic coördination and coöperation; local cultural self-determination. The effort was furthered by the organization, in Moscow, of a commission or tribunal made up of representatives of the national minorities within the Soviet Union. This commission was empowered, by the national minorities, to adjust their differences. The work of this commission has met with signal success in eliminating long standing difficulties between racial groups.

Tsarist policy kept racial, religious, and nationalist differences in the foreground, on the principle: "divide and rule."

Soviet policy pushed such differences into the background by the formula: "economic coördination and coöperation; local cultural self-determination."

Soviet policy in handling minorities is new. It is so completely different from imperial policy that it is still experimental.

New as is this Soviet policy of handling minorities there are several points on which there can be no shadow of doubt:

(1) These nationality groups within the Soviet Union enjoy a substantial measure of cultural self-determination. They are much freer than they ever were under the Tsar.

(2) They are succeeding with surprisingly little friction in finding their places in the Soviet economic system.

(3) They have benefited economically under the new eco-

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nomic policy, and their peoples look forward to sharing accruing economic benefits with the other members of the Soviet Union.

Thus it is evident to the little peoples of Asia lying outside the boundaries of the Soviet Union, and under imperial domination, that Sovietism means a wider measure of freedom than does imperialism.

6. *Strategy of the Near East*

So much for the demonstration at home. Minorities within the Soviet Union were enjoying wider measures of freedom than minorities under imperial control.

In the Near East there were several independent states, all of whom had long national histories, and many of which were threatened with absorption into the British Empire.

The year 1919 was the high water mark in the development of British power in the Near East.

With the occupation of Arabia, the assumption of control over Persia and Egypt, the mandates over Mesopotamia, and the success of the British in the Caucasus, the British Empire had been so extended that British control existed over a range of territory running from the Cape of Good Hope to the Straits of Malacca. In the Near East, British operations centered about the oil fields. Prof. E. A. Ross writes: "In the spring of 1919 the British held the Caucasus, Transcaucasia, Transcaspia, and Turkestan, while Denikin's squadron manned by British seamen and marines controlled the Caspian Sea. High British political agents were beginning to talk of the Caucasus range as a northern defense boundary of the British Empire." [7] The British empire was in its full glory.

From these vantage points the British shut down the Baku oil fields in order to deprive the Russians of their fuel supply. At the same time they prepared the Anglo-Persian agreement

[7] E. A. Ross: *The Russian Soviet Republic,* New York, 1923, p. 286.

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of August 9, 1919, under which Persia became a virtual part of the Empire.

Two years later this imposing imperial structure had fallen to pieces like a house of cards. Turkey was self-governing and was defying the Allies; Persia was a free nation; Afghanistan was independent, and the Caucasian oil fields were under Soviet control. The change was revolutionary. It was brought about almost exclusively by Soviet diplomacy and propaganda.

Tsarist Russia and Imperial Britain had been in open competition for the control of the Near East bloc—Turkey, Persia, Afghanistan. The Tsar was the policeman; the British Empire the trader. Between them they divided and despoiled. The Russian Revolution threw this whole machinery of exploitation completely out of gear. The policeman was off the job. Revolutionary and nationalist movements sprang up over night. The ideas of the Russian Revolution spread like fire. Out from behind the events of 1917-1919 stepped the Soviet Union as the champion of the Near East against Western aggression.

During 1921 the Soviet Union signed four vitally important treaties: with Persia, February 26, 1921; with Afghanistan, February 28, 1921; with Bokhara, March 4, 1921; and with Turkey, March 16, 1921. These treaties gave a powerful backing to the demands for independent nationalism in Turkey, Persia, and Afghanistan. They bolstered up Turkey in the Greek War and at the Lausanne Conference. They gave to the Near East a sense of solidarity and power that has not existed there during the period of capitalist exploitation.

During the World War Persian sovereignty was violated by the belligerents on both sides. Persian nationalists looked to the Russian Revolution as a solitary hope in their unequal struggle against European imperialism. The Soviet authorities did everything in their power to encourage this hope. Their efforts culminated in a decree published in *Izvestia,* January 16, 1918, in which all Russian claims in Persia infringing on

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the rights of Persian sovereignty were abrogated and a promise was made to have Persia cleared of Turkish and British troops. Soviet relations with Persia for the future were to be "based upon a free agreement and mutual respect among nations." [8]

Persian nationalists attempted to raise at the Paris Peace Conference the question of the withdrawal of allied troops from Persian territory. Nothing came of this effort, however, and on August 9, 1919, a new Anglo-Persian agreement was drawn up.[9] This agreement continued and extended British domination over Persia. Meanwhile, however, the Persian nationalists had called together a National Parliament, and no popular assembly elected in Persia could be expected to validate such an agreement as that prepared by the British imperialists.

Unrest developed. Persian nationalism insisted upon its right to self-determination. In January, 1921, the British withdrew their forces; in February a revolution took place at Teheran at the same time that a treaty was signed with Soviet Russia.[10]

The Soviet-Persian Treaty of February 26, 1921 (League of Nations Treaty Series, Vol. 9, 1922, No. 268), is entitled "Treaty of Friendship between Persia and the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic." Article One states that the Treaty aims to confirm Soviet declarations of friendship toward Persia and to definitely renounce "the tyrannical policy carried out by the colonizing governments of Russia." Following out this principle "and desiring that the Persian people should be happy and independent and should be able to dispose freely of its patrimony, the Russian Republic declares the whole body of treaties and conventions, concluded with Persia by the Tsarist Government, which crushed the rights of the Persian people, to be null and void."

[8] A. L. P. Dennis: *Op. cit.*, p. 238.

[9] *International Conciliation,* No. 145, December, 1919, "Parliamentary White Papers," Persia, No. 1, 1919.

[10] Dennis: *Op. cit.*, pp. 240-241.

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Soviet policy toward Asia is summarized in Article Two, which reads as follows:

"The R. S. F. S. R. expresses its reprobation of the policy of the Tsarist Governments of Russia, which, on the pretext of ensuring the independence of the peoples of Asia, concluded, without the consent of the latter, treaties with European powers, the sole object of which was to subjugate those peoples.

"This criminal policy, which infringed upon the independence of the countries of Asia, and which made the *living* nations of the East a prey to the cupidity and the tyranny of European robbers, is abandoned unconditionally by Federal Russia.

"Federal Russia, therefore, in accordance with the principles laid down in Articles One and Four of this Treaty, declares its refusal to participate in any action which might destroy or weaken Persian sovereignty. It regards as null and void the whole body of treaties and conventions concluded by the former Russian Government with third parties in respect of Persia or to the detriment of that country."

Succeeding articles contain various guarantees of neutrality. Article Six permits Russia to enter Persian territory with her military forces should Persia be unable to repel an armed invader threatening Russian territory.

Under Article Eight the Soviet Government cancels the loans granted to Persia by the Tsarist Government. "Russia likewise renounces its claim to the resources of Persia which were specified as security for the loans in question." Similarly, the economic concessions and undertakings begun in Persia under the Tsarist Government are abandoned (Articles 9 and 10). "The Russian Federal Government restores to the Persian Government, as representing the Persian people, all the concessions in question, whether already being worked or not, together with all land taken over in virtue of these concessions" (Article 12). "The Persian Government, for its part, promises not to cede to a third Power, or to its subjects, the concessions and prop-

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erty restored to Persia by virtue of the present treaty, and to maintain those rights for the Persian nation" (Article 13).

The remaining articles of the treaty provide for various details in the working out of friendly relations between the two governments.

This treaty contains the language of a new diplomacy and of a new social order. It scores imperialism as bitterly as a Hyde Park radical; it renounces the practices of imperialism; it restores Tsarist advantages in Persia to the Persian people, and pledges the power of the Soviet Republic to preserve the Persians in their national rights.

The Turkish Treaty begins with the statement that it is drawn up between "the Russian Socialist Federated Republic and the Government of the Great National Assembly of Turkey, which adhere to the principles of brotherly relations between nations and self-determination of peoples, and which recognize the solidarity existing between them in the struggle against imperialism. . . ." (p. 109). Article One declares that any treaties or international agreements to which the contracting parties have been compelled to affix their signatures shall not be recognized. Article Four reads:

"Both contracting parties recognize many points of contact between the movement for national liberation of the peoples of the East and the struggle of the working population of Russia for a new social order and solemnly proclaim the right of these peoples to liberty and independence as well as the right to choose a form of government that shall be in accordance with their wishes." [11]

The other treaties signed at the same period are written in the same tone of opposition to imperialism. The Treaty with Afghanistan, for example, states in Article Seven: "The High Contracting Parties agree upon the freedom of Eastern nations on the principle of independence and in accordance with the general wish of each nation."

[11] *Soviet Russia,* September, 1921, p. 109.

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Article Eight declares: "In confirmation of Clause VII of the present treaty, the High Contracting Parties agree upon the actual independence and freedom of Bokhara and Khiva, whatever may be the form of their government, in accordance with the wish of their peoples." This article extends the right of self-determination beyond the immediate parties to two others who were not directly concerned in the agreement.

By way of further emphasis on the principle of self-determination (Clause IX), "Russia agrees to hand over to Afghanistan the frontier districts which belonged to her in the last century, observing the principle of justice and the free expression of the will of the people." [12]

The next clause of the Afghanistan Treaty provides that Russia shall give Afghanistan "financial and other help." The character of this help is specified in a supplementary clause.

What could more clearly portray the attitude of Afghanistan than this message from the Ameer to the President of the Central Executive Committee of the Soviet Union: "Your friendly congratulations on occasion of the sixth anniversary of the independence of Afghanistan, and the part you have taken in the general triumph of the Afghan people have greatly rejoiced our hearts, and have once more testified to the friendly and brotherly feelings of the U. S. S. R." [13]

The Russian Revolution had enunciated the principle of self-determination. The Soviet Republic put the principle into practice, won the support of large sections of the Near East, checkmated the plans of the European imperialists, and laid the foundations for a powerful Near East anti-imperial bloc.

7. *Strategy of the Far East*

The composition of the Far East was very different from that of the Near East. Turkey, Afghanistan, and Persia were still

[12] *Ibid.*, April 30, 1921, p. 427.
[13] *Russian Review,* December 15, 1924, p. 233.

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independent, or pseudo-independent nations, ready, as the events showed, to maintain their position in the face of whatever power the imperialists could summon. Each of these countries had a well-defined national life, although each was dependent for its capital needs on the imperial world.

In the Far East there was one powerful empire (Japan), and eight or nine hundred millions of Chinese, Indians, Javanese, Koreans, and Filipinos, all of whom were at the mercy of imperial aggression. The complexity of the Far Eastern situation was increased by the fact that Japan, herself a part of the Far East, was one of the most active imperial forces in Far Eastern exploitation.

The key with which the Soviet Union could unlock the Far Eastern situation might have been found in India, in the Dutch East Indies, in Korea, or in China. As events moved, it proved to be in China.

The rôle that China was playing in the development of the Far Eastern situation fitted well into the Soviet plans:

(1). The Soviet Union needed a friendly neighbor in Eastern Asia. The Chinese Nationalist movement, especially after 1920, was disposed to be very friendly.

(2). The Soviet Union needed a barrier to keep Japan at arms' length. China provided that barrier, and Japan assisted in strengthening the barrier by a policy of ruthless aggression against China, until the Chinese boycott of Japanese goods convinced the latter country that the time had come for a change in tactics.

(3). The Soviet Union needed a battering ram with which to smash imperial control of the Far East. China proved to be that instrument. The imperialists furthered the Soviet plans by loosing on China a series of insults, slights, suppressions, bombardments, and massacres that inflamed the Chinese masses to fever heat during 1925, 1926, and the opening month of 1927.

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The future reader of history will be convinced that the fates were playing into the hands of the Soviet authorities during these critical months. At the time when Soviet diplomacy was most in need of anti-imperial sentiment in the Far East, the empires staged act after act that proved, to the limit, the Soviet contention that the Far East had nothing to hope for from the imperialists, and that it might as well turn to the Soviets first as last.

It was this favorable situation that enabled the Soviet diplomats to establish their contacts with China and Japan at the same time. On the face of things, this sounded like an immense task, since Japan was bidding for the rôle of chief exploiter in China. Nevertheless, the activity of the Chinese nationalists on the one hand and the desperate economic and political situation of Japan on the other enabled the Soviet diplomats to achieve the seemingly impossible. In May, 1924, they signed a most important treaty with China. Six months later they signed an even more significant treaty with Japan.

8. *Chinese Treaty of* 1924

The chief objective of Soviet strategy in the East was not Turkey and Persia, but China. The treaties signed in 1921 gave the Soviet Union a southern bulwark against imperial aggression, and drove through the British Empire a diplomatic wedge that is a constant threat to British control in surging India. This provided defenses for the line of communications, while it gave the Russians, rather than the British, the dominant position in the oil fields of the Near East.

There remained the immense resources of Northern Asia and the busy markets of Mongolia, Manchuria, and China. Coupled with the resources and populations of European Russia, these constitute probably the richest potential economic unit in the world.

For a century Russia has been moving across Siberia to the

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Pacific, colonizing Siberia, pressing upon Persia and Afghanistan, gnawing at China.

The treaty with China made in 1851 was chiefly concerned with the protection of the Mongolian caravan routes.[14] Two treaties were signed in 1858. The first fixed the Eastern frontiers between Russia and China greatly to the advantage of Russia. The second provided for the Russian commercial privileges.[15] These treaties gave Russia a free access to the Pacific, and opened North China markets to Russian trade. The Russian colonists "soon became thoroughly convinced of the enormous economic potentialities of this country, as well as of the wealth of its natural resources and of the advantages which they could derive from the exploitation of the North China markets."[16] "The offensive character of the Russian policy toward China can be explained by its chief object of securing the North China markets for the Russian merchants."[17]

A new treaty between Russia and China was signed in 1881,[18] in which Russian economic rights in China were reaffirmed.

Japan took Port Arthur from China after the defeat of China in 1895. Li Hung Chang then began conversations with Russia looking to the protection of China against Japanese aggression, and was compelled to offer more privileges as pay.[19] Sergei J. Witte, Russian Minister of Finance, regarded the Far Eastern markets and resources as "a most profitable opening for the young Russian industry and a means of exploiting Siberia through the just completed cross-country railroad."[20] In

[14] E. Hertslet: *China Treaties,* London, 1908, Vol. I, p. 449.
[15] *Ibid.,* pp. 454-455.
[16] S. A. Korff: "Russia in the Near East," *American Journal of International Law,* 1923, p. 258.
[17] *Ibid.,* p. 259.
[18] Hertslet: pp. 483 *ff.*
[19] Korff: *Supra,* p. 260 *ff.*
[20] Korff: *Supra,* p. 262.

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1896, Russia and China signed three agreements, under which Russia was to build two railroads: one straight across Manchuria to Vladivostok; the other to Port Arthur. This gave Russia two outlets to the Pacific and a sure grip on Manchuria.[21] Russia was looking definitely toward Korea.

In December, 1897, a Russian squadron occupied Port Arthur to protect China from the aggression of other Powers. In 1898, Port Arthur was "leased" to Russia. The Chinese Eastern Railway agreement was signed July 6, 1898.[22]

Russia and Japan, after 1895, were face to face in militant conflict for the control of Korea and Manchuria. Russia was not content with Northern Manchuria and north China. She also wanted Korea and Southern Manchuria. After the Boxer uprisings of 1900 Japan decided to join the other powers and get what she could of the Chinese spoils. She must have an ally. The choice lay between England and Russia. She chose England, and signed the Anglo-Japanese Treaty of Alliance, January 30, 1902.

A group of Russian adventurers secured a mining concession on the Yalu River and persuaded the Tsar and his family to invest. Japan tried to adjust the differences that arose over this imperialist venture, but the Russians felt sure of their ability to coerce Japan and pressed the issue recklessly. The Russo-Japanese War of 1905 was the result.[23]

Following the war, England did her best to build up an alliance between Russia and Japan. In 1916 two treaties were signed between Japan and Russia, which practically provided for an offensive and defensive alliance.[24]

Meanwhile, in the summer of 1911, the Mongolian rulers decided to turn against China. They were assisted by Russia. Russia signed a treaty with Mongolia in Urga, November 3,

[21] Korff: *Supra,* pp. 262-3.
[22] MacMurray: *Treaties,* Vol. I, p. 154.
[23] Sergei J. Witte: *Memoirs,* New York, 1921, p. 123.
[24] MacMurray: Vol. II, pp. 1327-8.

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1912, under which Russia received many privileges from Mongolia.[25]

Thus were the foundations laid for the part which Russia was destined to play in the momentous events that followed one another in China after the outbreak of the 1911 Revolution.

The Chinese Eastern Railway had been one of Russia's chief agencies for the exploitation of China. In 1924, when the diplomats of North China signed their treaty with the Soviet representatives, despite the bitter opposition of the Allies, it was provided that both Russia and China should manage the railroad. Article Four abrogates all treaties and agreements "concluded between the former Tsarist Government and any third party or parties affecting the sovereign rights or interests of China." Under the treaty provisions the Chinese Eastern Railway is reorganized, with ten directors—five from the Soviet Union and five from China. "The manager of the railroad shall be a national of the U. S. S. R." Of the two assistant managers, one shall be Chinese and one Russian.[26] Paragraph Five of Article Nine of the agreement asserts that "the governments of the two contracting parties mutually agree that the future of the Chinese Eastern Railway shall be determined by the Republic of China and the U. S. S. R. to the exclusion of any third party or parties."

The agreement with China was signed May 31, 1924. When its terms became known the various Allied governments protested on the ground that they were interested parties and creditors in the Chinese Eastern.

The protest of the United States Government was based, in part, on the Thirteenth Resolution of the Washington Conference, which makes provision for the treatment of foreign creditors. China was not consulted in the drafting of this Resolution, and her reply to the United States note is a classic:

[25] *Ibid.*, Vol. II, pp. 992-6.
[26] *Current History,* September, 1924, pp. 960-961. Treaty in full.

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"In the future the two governments of China and Russia will deal with the Chinese Eastern Railway, in which only the two countries of Russia and China are concerned." [27]

During a century the Chinese have been humbled before the great Western powers, who have come in, one after the other, to rob her of her economic heritage. In the Russian Treaty of 1924 China finds the basis for independent action because she is backed for the first time by real support from the West.

After the exchange of ratifications, the Soviet Union, on July 15, 1924, appointed L. Karakhan Ambassador to China. Since the other Western nations had never sent representatives of ambassadorial rank to China, this stroke of diplomacy not only placed the Soviet Union and China on a footing of equality but made Karakhan the head of the foreign representatives in China. The resulting conflict is well described by Frederick Cunliffe-Owen in the New York *Times*.[28]

The policy which the Soviet Union pursued in its relations with China has been consistent throughout. In April, 1920, Tchitcherin declared that "the Soviet Government renounces all conquests made by the Government of the Tsar in China, Manchuria, or anywhere else. . . . The Soviet Government restores to China without any compensation whatever the mining, forest, and all other concessions of which China was robbed by the Government of the Tsar, the Government of Kerensky, of the brigands Horvath, Semenov, Kolchak, and Russian generals and capitalists." [29]

The Treaty of May 31, 1924, carried out this declaration to the letter.

Thus the Soviet principle of mutual and reciprocal economic interests and local cultural self-determination had been applied from White Russia on the west to China on the east. Within the Soviet Union the minorities were enjoying a new freedom,

[27] New York *Times*, June 19, 1924, 23:6.
[28] July 27, 1924, II, 2: 2.
[29] E. A. Ross: *The Russian Soviet Republic*, New York, 1923, p. 292.

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the nations of the Near East were secure in a real independence of imperial domination, and the struggling movement of Chinese nationalism had found in the Soviet Union a source of support that made Chinese national independence a political possibility.

9. *The Japanese Treaty of* 1925

Japan needs both the natural resources and the markets of Continental Asia. With an area less than that of California and a population equal to more than half that of the United States, Japan is subject to continual economic pressure. She must import iron, fuel, cotton, and food. She must export enough goods to pay for these necessaries and to supply her powerful business class with an outlet for its surplus capital.

Strategically Japan is the guardian of eastern Asia. Her string of islands, stretching from Kamchatka on the north to Formosa on the south, gives her a commanding position over the whole of northern Asia. The Japanese domination of Korea and the part played by Japan in the economic and political affairs of China increases the strength of this position.

Following her victory over Russia in 1905, Japan, with the assistance of England, negotiated a series of treaties with Russia in 1907, 1910, 1911, and 1916.[30] On their face, these treaties provided for reciprocal trade and diplomatic relations between Russia and Japan. Practically they were the means of dividing the control over Northern China between the two great empires.

The Russian Revolution proved a rude shock to Japan's ambitions in Asia because it introduced a revolutionary element wholly foreign to the interests of Japanese imperialism. So long as Japan and Russia were both conquering and exploiting they might divide the spoils, but when Russia abandoned im-

[30] MacMurray: *Op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 643, 646, 657, 803, 899, Vol. II, pp. 1327-28; Dennis: *op. cit.*, p. 271.

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perialism and capitalism she left the Japanese Empire in an extremely difficult position. Japan wanted the resources and markets of Eastern Asia, but there was no one with whom she could agree as to their disposition.

There remained, of course, the possibility of Japan's taking them over for herself. She began this vigorously by presenting an ultimatum to China,[31] seizing Shantung, and in 1918 by landing troops at Vladivostok, and later by occupying Northern Sakhalin.[32] In the same year the Japanese organized a Siberian expeditionary force and gave generous support to Semenov and Kolchak.

This aggressive policy practiced by Japan had two diverse but equally important results. On the one hand it strengthened the opposition of the peoples of Northern Asia to imperial aggression and turned them definitely toward the Soviet Union as their one means of salvation. On the other hand it aroused the bitter hostility of English and United States capitalists, who saw in this progress of Japanese imperialism the loss of their economic opportunities in Asia.

When the Anglo-Japanese agreement expired it was not renewed, partly, no doubt, because the British hesitated to strengthen Japan's hands and partly because of the very evident choice which Great Britain must make between friendship with Japan and friendship with the United States.

Even more emphatic than the failure of Britain to renew the Anglo-Japanese agreement was the ruthless Japanese exclusion policy adopted by the United States in 1924.

Japan had come none too willingly to the Washington Conference in 1921-2. At this conference English and United States diplomats worked together to limit the power of Japan in Asia. The Japanese, both at the Paris Peace Conference and at the Washington Conference, presented one major demand—

[31] MacMurray: *Op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 1231, "The Twenty-one Demands Presented by Japan to China," January 18, 1915.
[32] Dennis: *Op. cit.*, chapters 11 and 12.

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equality with the Western powers. In both cases this demand was refused.

The scornful rejection of Japan by the United States in 1924 left Japan with two courses of action. The first was to play a lone hand in the control of Asia. This was a difficult and dangerous course for the Japanese to follow in view of the large interests of Britain, Russia, and the United States. The second course was to form an effective alliance with Russia, despite her unwelcome economic and social system. Japan chose this latter course, and on January 20, 1925, signed a treaty with the Soviet Union. [33]

The correspondence between Russia and Japan over the 1925 treaty is most revealing.[34] Karakhan, who conducted the negotiations for the Soviets, continually emphasized the desire of the Soviets for reciprocal relations. On July 31, 1924, he gave an interview to the Japanese newspaper men, in which he said: "Japan imagines that by recognizing the Soviet Union it is making us a tremendous concession and placing us under great obligation." This is far from the truth, Karakhan argues. "Japan wishes to acquire the natural riches of Northern Sakhalin under conditions which only a victorious power may dictate to a vanquished nation. Our answer is that Japan has no claim to monopolies and exclusive rights but that she may obtain concessions on the general established basis. . . . The Soviet Union's policy is based upon the principle of full reciprocity, and we do not wish to recede from this principle. . . . We want an agreement with Japan, but we cannot make any sacrifice, just as we do not ask for any sacrifice on the part of Japan." [35]

The treaty of January 20, 1925, provides in Article Six that "in the interests of the development of economic relations

[33] Text in *Izvestia,* February 27; New York *Times,* March 22, 1925.

[34] *Russian Review,* December 15, 1924, pp. 232-3; September 1, 1924, p. 95.

[35] *Ibid.*

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between the two countries, and taking into consideration the needs of Japan with respect to natural resources, the Government of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics is ready to grant to Japanese subjects, companies and associations, concessions for the exploitation of mineral, timber and other natural resources in all of the territory of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics."

Protocol B attached to the treaty deals with Japanese concessions in Northern Sakhalin. The Soviet Government agrees to grant to Japanese concerns recommended by the Japanese Government the right to carry on exploration work in certain oil fields of Northern Sakhalin for from five to ten years. Should oil be discovered, the concession for the exploration of 50 per cent of the oil field area will be granted to the Japanese. The next section of the Protocol makes similar provisions for the development of Sakhalin coal. The period of the concessions is fixed at from forty to fifty years. The Japanese concessionaires agree to turn over to the Soviet Union from 5 to 8 per cent of the gross coal output and from 5 to 45 per cent of the gross oil output. Certain limited privileges for timber development are also included in the Protocol. By the adoption of this treaty Japan secures some of the most important resources in Eastern Asia and the Soviet Union gains an ally whose strategic position in the Pacific protects her against aggression from that quarter. Russia, on the other hand, has made her position quite clear. Stalin, in an authorized interview with the correspondent of the Japanese *Nishi-Nishi,* answered this question: How can the Japanese people serve the cause of the liberation of the oppressed peoples of the East from the yoke of the Western powers? "There is but one way," Stalin answered. "The political and social order of Japan must be adapted to the fundamental interests of the Japanese people." [36]

[36] *International Press Correspondence,* July 23, 1925, Vol. V, No. 59.

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10. *The Eurasion Bloc an Accomplished Fact*

Thus, by federation and by treaty agreement, the Soviet Union has established itself in a commanding position over the richest and most extensive land unit in the world. Its western boundary is the Baltic; its eastern, the Pacific. It includes half of Europe and a large portion of Asia.

Certain common interests hold this group of nations and peoples together. The Soviet Union, Persia, Afghanistan, China, and Turkey have a common interest in checkmating the capitalist imperialism of the great European powers. Japan is inseparably bound to the resources and markets of Asia.

The Soviet position in Asia is very well stated by Albert Sarraut, French Ambassador to Turkey:

"It is a mistake to regard Russia as being at the bottom of the present troubles in China and elsewhere in Asia—as if that were all there were of the question. Russia's aims, policies and tactics in the East are so well known that their effects ought not to be surprising; but merely to blame the Soviet Government shows a failure to recognize the underlying cause of the difficulty. It would be much more correct to say that Russia is at the top rather than at the bottom of the troubles in Asia.

"Russia is at the top not because she has shown greater skill in diplomacy; not because the diplomacy of Europe since the war has been so inferior in its dealings, but rather because the idea that the old diplomacy which had for its basic principle the exploitation of inferior peoples by European capitalists dominates the minds of a formidable opposition to European influence everywhere in Asia.

"This condition has created a new Asia, and the force of it grows apace. Bolshevist Russia was the first to recognize the potential value of this new state of the Asiatic mind and used such insight as a basis for rearing an Asiatic policy." [37]

[37] Authorized interview in New York *Times*, June 12, 1925.

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11. *Soviet Contacts With China*

The Russian Revolution made it possible for China to have a Western ally on a basis of full reciprocal right. This had never happened before. Soviet policy made China a part of the Eurasian bloc.

For generations China had been on the outskirts of world life—a prey to every passing imperialist. During those bitter years China had no effective ally. Every hand was raised against her. Now she is a full fledged member of one of the most powerful economic and political combinations in the world. And, so far as the Far East was concerned, China occupied the key position in the combination.

Sun Yat-sen sensed this change in China's position when he wrote in his last message to the Central Executive Committee of the Soviet Union: "I wish to express the fervent hope that the day may soon dawn when the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics will greet, as a friend and ally, a strong and independent China, and the two allies may together advance to victory in the great struggle for the liberation of the oppressed peoples of the world." Here was a world-wide crusade for freedom, with the Soviet Union and China as the leaders.

A century of contact with the Western empires had brought China humiliation, military attacks, seizure of territory, control of customs and of taxation. Five years of the Soviet Union brought China the promise of national sovereignty and freedom.

"Whilst the struggle between Imperialism and the People's Revolutionary Movement was becoming acute, there appeared suddenly a most powerful help for China. This was the Russian Revolution." [38]

The Russian Revolution and the Soviet Union have done more than any other forces outside of China to secure for her

[38] Wong Chin-wai: *China and the Nations,* New York, 1927, p. 120.

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a place among the nations. Here are some of the tangible things that the Soviets have done to achieve this result in China:

(1) The Soviet Union gave up all forms of economic special privilege in China, and in the Treaty of 1924 recognized, in China, a country that was entitled to the same voice as the Soviet Union in handling the Chinese Eastern Railway. The road was built by Tsarist diplomats for the purpose of facilitating the exploitation of China. It was used by the Soviet Union as a basis for establishing reciprocal economic relations between the two countries.

(2) The Soviet Union was the first of the powers to place the Chinese on a footing of diplomatic equality, and to recognize that the Chinese were a sovereign people. In the dealings of the Soviets with the Chinese there has been no suggestion of the inferiority of the Chinese.

(3) The two countries, as Sun Yat-sen suggested, are waging a common struggle against imperialism and exploitation.

(4) They have a common interest in building a form of society from which the worst phases of private capitalism and of imperialism will have been eliminated.

(5) For the first time, young Chinese, who go West, are receiving in Soviet schools training in the methods of freeing China from economic and political domination by the great empires.

Whatever may be said of the extent and effect of Russian influence in China, one fact must be recognized—there is a growing feeling of friendliness and sympathy between certain groups of people of these two nations. This feeling has nothing to do with political and economic theories of government or Russian ammunition and rubles; it is a common feeling engendered by mutual respect. Mr. Brailsford, writing from Moscow in March of this year, said:

"The youth of Russia has at this moment only one dream—

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to go to China to fight for the Kuomintang, or in some other way to help this popular cause which has fired its romantic imagination. . . . They (the Chinese) have found a welcome here. If Russia is proud of anything at the moment it is of the confidence which the Chinese repose in her.

"In this atmosphere many young Chinese students are now living and studying in Moscow. When they return to their homeland they cannot fail to carry back with them that common human emotion of sympathy, friendliness and mutual respect." [39]

Perhaps no feature of Soviet activity in China has aroused more bitterness than has their "propaganda." Frequently the whole blame for trouble in China is laid on Soviet shoulders, as when Sir Esme Howard said to the Worcester "Metal Trades and Employers Association": "We know who inspires all this anti-British agitation by which poor ignorant coolies are wrought up to violence and pillage." [40]

Propaganda in favor of imperialism is "education." Propaganda for Sovietism is "subversive doctrine." When Chinese students go to Oxford or Heidelberg or Columbia they learn the science of exploitation. When they go to Moscow, they learn the science of revolution and of the organization of a communist society.

But Soviet propaganda has gone much farther than the mere giving of university courses. It has played a big part in the organization of the workers and the peasants of China. It has been present in the councils of the Kuomintang. It has filled Chinese newspapers with articles and has supplied the material for pamphlets and speeches. It has undermined the morale of the pro-imperialists among the Chinese war lords. It is a moving force in the direction of Chinese affairs.

The imperialists found that Soviet propaganda was one of

[39] Yang Kuang-shang: "Growth of Nationalism," *Current History*, June, 1927, p. 358.

[40] New York *Times*, May 26, 1927.

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the most baffling and discouraging phases of the whole Soviet program. The Soviet authorities soon learned to use ideas in such a way that they reach the masses and determine their conduct. It is a revolutionary means of accomplishing results.

There is no necessity of going into detail regarding the propaganda of the Soviet authorities in China. Karakhan put it wittily to Lewis Gannett: "Propaganda? Of course I do propaganda. But I don't have to pay for it. Why should I pay students and professors to say what they want to say anyway? Paid propagandists are never any good. How can a man stir others unless he has the fire of sincerity in his own breast? . . . Last summer, when student delegations flooded Peking, I received them all, fed them just such tea and cakes as I am offering you, and talked to them. That was propaganda. It was good propaganda, too, especially when those same students went to your American Legation and were received by a third assistant under-secretary who was obviously in a hurry to get away from them so that he could play golf. It was propaganda last week when we lowered our embassy flag to half-mast on the anniversary of Sun Yat-sen's death, while no other Legation remembered to honor the first President of China. They are fools, fools! They miss their chances —and then they think I have to pay for my propaganda!" [41]

Imperialists in China have never been hampered by the "sovereign rights of the Chinese." They have gone straight ahead to their goals, rights or no rights. But ideas disturb them, particularly when the ideas are translated by the Chinese into boycotts, strikes, and mass revolutions.

Essentially that is the situation. The Soviet example and the Soviet diplomacy in Asia have given China the raw material of rebellion and social transformation.

[41] Lewis Gannett: *Young China,* New York, 1927, p. 172.

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IV

CHINA IN 1925-6

1. *The Old and Dominant Economy*

CHINA was a relatively static world in 1840. Economic and social institutions had remained pretty much as they were for centuries.

China was a dynamic world in 1925. Life was a ferment. Changes were taking place in all of the more important economic and social relations—and taking place with revolutionary speed.

Western culture was responsible for this change in China. The new economy was supplanting the old in the treaty ports and at various trading points in the river valleys. The bulk of the Chinese people, however, were living under the old economic and social institutions. The old economy still predominated although the new was making heavy inroads upon it. This dominant economy was that of the agricultural village. "The typical scene in China is thus the little, primitive homestead, often a mere mud hut, of the struggling peasant farmer." [1]

These peasant farmers, with their families, make up from seven-tenths to eight-tenths of China's population. Shansi, a typical central Chinese province, had a population, in 1922, of 11,730,846. The occupations of Shansi workers were listed as follows:

Farming	5,974,924
Commercial	855,208
Coolies	693,335
Industrial	612,335
Mining	98,148

[1] C. L. Malone: *New China,* Part II, London, 1927, p. 3.

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The total number of physicians in the province was 7,128; lawyers, 91; educational workers, 34,575. Students numbered 1,019,440. There were 1,760,551 unemployed.[2]

Prof. J. B. Tayler, summarizing a number of occupational surveys, finds 87.8 per cent of the male workers over sixteen engaged wholly in agriculture; 7 per cent were engaged full time in occupations other than agriculture, and 5.2 per cent were engaged part time in work other than agriculture. The percentage varied a great deal, however, in different provinces.[3]

Prof. Tayler comments on the fact that in the smaller villages there are no recognized village artisans as there are in India—carpenters, blacksmiths, potters, leather workers. Especially in Shantung the investigators found villages "in which there were no workers other than pure agriculturists—that is, no one who even gave part time to industry or trade for those, outside his own family, from whom he received any monetary return. This is occasionally true of villages with more than one hundred male workers."

The dominant economy of China is still that of the village, in which the agricultural worker lives, and from which he goes out to work his tiny piece of land. In many of these villages there are craft workers. In the smaller villages, however, each household aims to be economically self-sufficient.

Instead of being crowded into cities, most of the Chinese people are scattered over the countryside. "You may stand on an elevation almost anywhere in the central or eastern provinces of China and count the villages in sight by the score. They are rarely more than a fraction of a mile apart on any of the principal roads."[4]

The movement of goods to and from these villages is slight. In China there are about 7,700 miles of railway, one-eightieth

[2] *Chinese Economic Bulletin,* November 20, 1926, p. 296.

[3] *Chinese Social and Political Science Review,* 1924, Section 2, p. 239.

[4] E. T. Williams: *China, Yesterday and To-Day,* New York, 1923, p. 123.

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of the mileage in the United States. "Including dirt roads, macadamized roads, and modern city streets, there are in round numbers, in all of China, 1,700 miles of road. Of this mileage, 500 miles represent city streets." About 7,000 motor cars are in use throughout China.[5] By way of comparison, the State of New York, with a population equal to about 2 per cent of that of China, has 8,401 miles of railway (more than all China); 81,878 miles of roads, not counting city streets, and 1,421,789 registered motor cars.[6]

In South and Central China it is possible to travel for many miles through thickly settled country without seeing a road or a bridge. Across the rice fields, frequently on the tops of dikes, run narrow footpaths on which two persons cannot comfortably walk abreast. The crops are taken from the fields along these paths. Fertilizers and supplies follow the same route. Products are transported to market by the footways. There is no other means of going from one village to another unless there happens to be a stream or a canal. All local transportation passes along these paths, carried on human backs.

Horses are used to some extent in North China. Here and there are trails that will accommodate a cart. In Central and South China, however, there are almost no roads on which a cart could travel, and there is no pack-animal other than men and women. Boats are used where possible. Where there is no means of water transport, supplies are carried.

This lack of railroads and roads means that when goods and people are moved, they go on the backs of animals, or, more frequently, on the backs of coolies. In Peking alone there are at least 55,000 persons who earn their living by ricksha pulling. Two hundred and fifty thousand relatives are dependent upon them, out of a population of 800,000. This

[5] J. M. Clements: *China, Automotive Condition,* Department of Commerce, Trade Information Bulletin, 1922.

[6] *Statistical Abstract,* 1924.

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means that one of every nine adults in Peking is a ricksha puller.[7] Coolies pull goods as well as people. "Even in a highly developed industrial city such as Shanghai, one observes how often human beings, both men and women, are employed instead of horse or motor transport, and ten or twenty male or female coolies may be seen hauling a load, which in a Western country would be conveyed by horse and cart, or on a motor lorry—a dozen coolies being cheaper to hire than a cart and a mule. In the interior rural laborers have been found carrying loads of over 170 pounds of wheat for 800 miles at ten cents per day" (*Ibid.*, p. 3). It is under such economic conditions that the vast majority of the Chinese people live at the present time.

To this generalization there are important exceptions. There is an extensive city life both in old and in new China. The *China Year Book* for 1926 lists thirty-six cities, each of which has an estimated population of over 1,000,000. In the 1,500 Chinese cities live about seventy-five million people, who are engaged for the most part in some commercial, industrial, or professional activity.[8] "The majority of the town population live by their handicraft, working in small shops . . . open on the narrow alleys of the native cities. . . . A tremendous amount of work is done in these front shops. . . . Passing down a street you see carpenters, tinsmiths, blacksmiths, metal workers, furniture makers, ivory carvers, lacquer workers, fan makers, kingfisher feather workers, embroiderers, coffin makers, all at work in the front shops."[9] "Almost every form of productive activity, save those processes which need a large plant and special conditions, may be seen as one passes along almost any Chinese street. . . . In these small industries there may be a certain number of hired persons, and apprentices are frequently taken in and trained. . . . The best of such

[7] C. L. Malone: *Op. cit.*, p. 8.
[8] E. T. Williams: *Op. cit.*, p. 123.
[9] C. L. Malone: *Op. cit.*, p. 3.

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industries are like large families." Pay is small, but in some cases there is a system of profit sharing with the workers.[10] "It has been estimated that not more than 5 per cent to 10 per cent of the population are families engaged in handcrafts, some 8,000,000 persons being actually so employed." [11]

Until a very short time ago all of the manufactured goods that were bought and sold in China, with the exception of meager imports, which even to-day amount to less than $2 per capita, came from these craft industries. They still do most of the manufacturing in China.

While there are many centers of population (cities) in China, each is economically autonomous. Each has its own essential craft industries. Each has its own neighboring food-producing areas. Each has its own local financial system. Frequently each imposes its own taxes. Economically there is a very close resemblance between Europe in the late middle ages and modern China. If the larger open ports like Shanghai and Tientsin are omitted, the comparison is striking. The vast majority of the people live under a system of village economy, and where population centers exist, they are almost self-sufficient. Thus sectionalism and localism in China are well grounded on the prevailing economic system.

Chinese merchants and craftsmen are organized in guilds of which there are two classes: the provincial guild and the trade guild, both of which are primarily concerned with the industrial organization of the country. The provincial guild unites merchants and others who have come from one province (or perhaps one large town) and who are residing in another province or town. All people from a particular area are expected to join such a guild.

The trade guild is an organization which includes all of those engaged in a particular trade. Masters and men both join the

[10] H. T. Hodgkin: *China in the Family of Nations,* London, 1923, p. 177.

[11] Malone: *Op. cit.,* p. 2.

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guild, and while the masters dominate, the workers are given the protection of the organization. This includes legal advice, defense, and help in times of special need.

Both kinds of guilds are democratic bodies with elected officials. Both are strictly disciplined, and punishments are meted out to the members quite irrespective of the public law. There is a very close parallel between the trade guilds of modern China and the European craft guild of the middle ages.[12]

After nearly a century of business contact with the West the dominant economy of China is still that of the agricultural village and the commercial city. Village families, almost economically self-sufficient, obtain the few articles which they do not produce for themselves through an immensely expensive system of animal and human transport. In the larger villages and in the cities most of the manufacturing is still done by hand in shops that are also stores. This form of economy has existed in China for centuries. It pervades most of China to-day.

2. *The New Revolutionary Economics*

Side by side with this customary village and craft economy there is growing up in China a modern industrial, commercial, and financial economy that is revolutionizing Chinese life. Western machines and methods have routed the working masses and are driving them out of the old into new economic forms. "The history of China during a hundred years has been the history of the assault of a mechanically more perfect civilization on an age-old civilization which has drawn its strength and permanence from an agricultural-pastoral origin." [13]

Part of the revolutionary economy has been imported from

[12] Hodgkin: *Op. cit.*, pp. 174-175.
[13] Putnam Weale: *Op. cit.*, pp. 1-2.

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foreign capitalist nations—chiefly Britain, Japan, the United States and Germany. A larger part, however, has been established by the Chinese themselves, many of whom have adopted Western business methods and are organizing modern industry.

Present-day China is equipped with important units of modern industry. To be sure, this industrialization has been confined largely to certain coast cities and to the valley of the Yang-tse. Still, the products of this industry have penetrated all China and its influence is being felt throughout the Chinese economic world.

The actual processes of industrialization in China have been confined chiefly to the cotton and silk industries. Other forms of manufacturing, mining, transport, trade and finance have been industrialized to a lesser degree.

Modern textile manufacturing in China was begun in 1890. But the rapid increase in the number of textile factories dates only from the World War. There were 14 cotton mills in 1906, with 400,000 spindles; 42 mills in 1916, with 1,154,000 spindles; and 83 mills in 1923, with 2,666,000 spindles.[14] By 1925 the number of cotton mills had increased to 117 [15] (69 Chinese owned, 45 Japanese owned, 4 British owned) and the number of spindles to:

Chinese Owned	2,032,816
Japanese Owned	1,331,304
British Owned	205,320
Total	3,569,440

Next to cotton mills, modern flour mills are the most important factory industry in China. There are 160 such mills with a daily capacity of 120,000 barrels.[16] Besides textile mills and flour mills there are 100 match factories, thirty-five tan-

[14] Lewis Gannett: *Op. cit.*, p. 18.

[15] Great Britain, Overseas Trade Department: *Report on Commercial Situation of China,* London, 1926, p. 23.

[16] Julean Arnold: *China,* United States Department of Commerce, 1926, p. 266.

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neries, sixteen paper mills, steel mills, shipyards, brick and cement works, dye works, breweries, glassworks, canneries, cigarette factories, oil refineries, sugar refineries, sawmills, soap factories, carpet factories, porcelain and earthenware factories and a number of others.[17]

There are perhaps 1,500 modern factories in China besides several thousand semi-modern or partly modernized factories. Many of the latter are merely overgrown home workshops. It is very difficult to say how many persons these factories employ. Malone estimates the number at from two to four millions. It is significant to note, however, that most of the modern industrial enterprise in China is centered in Shanghai, Wuhan, Tientsin, Harbin, and about fifteen or twenty other centers.

What proportion of this industry is at present in the hands of foreigners and what proportion is in the hands of Chinese? The Chinese Mills Owners' Association reported 122 cotton mills in 1925, of which seventy-three were Chinese, forty-five were Japanese, and four were British. In terms of spindles and looms and of workers employed the Chinese mills are far ahead of the Japanese and British combined. In the flour milling industry the bulk of the capital is Chinese. Russian interests are second, followed by British and Japanese owned mills.[18] In the coal industry, which has been developing since 1890, and which produced thirteen million tons in 1913 and twenty-three million tons in 1923, "British owned mines accounted for four million tons, Japanese for four and one-half million tons, and Chinese for seven million tons from large mines, in addition to an unstated quantity from small pits."[19] While the imperialists were originally responsible for the development of modern industry in China, the Chinese themselves now occupy first place in the two most important factory

[17] E. T. Williams: *Op. cit.*, p. 185; Malone: *Op. cit.*, p. 4.
[18] Arnold: *Op. cit.*, p. 266.
[19] Elinor Burns: ***British Imperialism in China,*** London, 1926, p. 27.

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industries in China, and in coal mining. This means that the industrialization of China from within is well under way.

Modern transport and communication are only meagerly developed in China. Nevertheless, the Chinese have a modern and a very efficient postal system, a telegraph and telephone system and a governmentally controlled railroad system that represented an outlay of $635,000,000 in 1923. While foreign enterprise has been primarily responsible for the modernizing of transport and communication, both industries are being kept in public Chinese hands.

3. *Chinese Resources and Population*

No description of present-day China is complete without a word concerning Chinese resources and population. The land area of China is 4,278,000 square miles, nearly half again as great as the land area of the United States. In an age when coal, oil, iron, copper and other fuels and minerals play so large a rôle in the development of public economy, a nation can hardly expect to exert any considerable influence unless it can control a reasonable supply of these industrial essentials. China has this supply.

No adequate survey has been made of Chinese resources. There are numerous guesses, however. The *China Year Book* for 1925 (pp. 131-141) lists production of many of the minor minerals in China. Charles Hodges notes that nineteen of the thirty-two minerals figuring in world production are to be found in China, but that up to the present time only two of them amount to more than 10 per cent of total world production and only two others to more than 5 per cent. The rest are in the neighborhood of 1 per cent. "With vast resources of mineral wealth, China is producing less than 1 per cent of the world's mineral wealth." [20] The American Bankers Association

[20] Charles Hodges: *Conference on American Relations with China*, Baltimore, 1925, p. 73.

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survey of China (*China: An Economic Survey*, 1923) credits China with coal resources between forty and fifty billion tons and with one billion tons of iron ore.

China enjoys great variety in climate, in soils and in agricultural products, which include most of the essential foods and raw materials of the temperate and semi-tropical zones.

About 450 million people live in China. The *Chinese Economic Journal* for May 1927 claims 485,508,838. This is only an estimate as no accurate census count has been made. Despite its immense resources and population, which includes nearly one-quarter of the human race, the national wealth of China immediately preceding the World War was estimated at twenty billion dollars. Potentially, China is a storehouse of natural wealth and human energy. To date neither has been utilized to any considerable degree.

4. *Chinese Trade*

Despite its vast population China imports a relatively small amount of goods. The entire foreign commerce of China is less than that of Canada, although the Chinese population is fifty times the Canadian. If China bought as much from the United States per capita as Great Britain now buys, the total of Chinese imports from the United States would be approximately eight billion dollars, or twice as much as the present total of United States exports to the entire world. But China is still economically undeveloped. Consequently, trade has never been built up on a large scale.

The principal Chinese imports are cotton fabrics, iron and steel, cotton yarn, machinery and coal. The principal exports are silk, both raw and manufactured, and cotton goods. During recent years there have been a number of significant changes, particularly in the character of Chinese imports. When the World War opened, China was importing 358 million pounds of cotton yarn (1913). When the war was over cotton

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yarn imports were 162 million pounds (1922). Meanwhile, China had begun the export of cotton yarn on a very considerable scale. There were similar reductions in the import of cotton piece goods.

During 1925-6 revolution and civil war were disturbing normal economic relations in China. Nevertheless, note this paragraph from *United States Commerce Reports* (December 13, 1926, p. 676): "The machinery import trade of China during the first six months of 1926 changed but little in total value from that of the corresponding period of 1925. . . . The machinery imports of Shanghai for the first six months of 1926 registered an increase of 47 per cent for a corresponding period of 1925. The gain was largely attained through greater imports of textile and miscellaneous machinery. The former, which, as usual, constituted the largest single machinery item, nearly doubled as compared with the first six months of 1925 and also represented a substantial increase over the 1924 period." The *Chinese Social and Political Science Review* (1926, Vol. X, p. 11) reports the value of electrical materials imported into China in 1924 as more than three times similar imports for 1914, the value of motor cars at six times, and the number of gallons of gasoline at nine times the import of 1914. China is the third largest cotton producing country in the world. Nevertheless, she imported 142,765 bales from the United States in 1926 as against 38,649 bales in 1925.[21]

These facts picture a China in which the process of industrialization, having begun with the textile industries, as it did in England, is now extending to other fields. A China, furthermore, which, in spite of internal disturbances, is increasing its industrialization year after year, both from without, through the import of foreign capital, and from within through the growth of Chinese capital.

A word should be said about the relative position of the great exporters to China. In 1870 Great Britain held the field with

[21] *Commerce Reports*, January 3, 1927, p. 37.

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about two-fifths of the total exports to China, while the United States furnished less than 1 per cent and Japan less than 2 per cent of the total. By 1910 Japan had outdistanced Great Britain while the United States stood as a poor third in the competition for Chinese trade.

The World War brought about important changes in China's economic relations with foreign countries. For 1926 her imports showed a total of 1,144,647,000 Hk. Tls. (about 770 million dollars) divided in the following manner: [22]

Japan (including Formosa)	29.43 per cent
United States	16.39 per cent
Hongkong	10.88 per cent
Great Britain	10.16 per cent
British India	6.92 per cent
French Indo-China	4.53 per cent
Germany	3.99 per cent
Canada	2.10 per cent
Russia	1.98 per cent

Potentially, the Chinese market is one of the most valuable in the world; actually, it was dominated by Great Britain until the end of the nineteenth century. From the beginning of the World War, however, Great Britain was pushed out of the market by Japan and the United States, and these three nations are now engaged in a neck and neck race to decide which shall control this extremely valuable economic trade. Meanwhile the Chinese themselves are developing their industrial organization and establishing an economic system that will to a greater and greater extent supply their own needs for manufacturing goods.

5. *Remnants of the Old Social Order*

Village economy still predominates in China. It is reflected in the more prevalent traditional social institutions; decentralized political administration; the village; the family; the guild.

[22] *Eastern Capital and Trade,* Shanghai, September 16, 1927.

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Political decentralization is an inevitable accompaniment of the form of agricultural economy prevailing in China. Absence of easy means of transport and communication render effective centralization difficult or impossible. One of the first functions of historic empires has always been road building, because without roads (or waterways) there is no method by which a scattered governmental structure can be held together. The absence of such roads in China is one of the clearest indications of the type of economy persisting there.

Nominally, China became a republic in 1912. Practically, each one of the eighteen provinces composing the republic of China enjoyed administrative autonomy and was in many important respects a sovereign state. The rulers of these provinces organized armies, collected taxes, issued money, made treaties, and performed many of the functions that are characteristic of sovereign European states.

A necessary accompaniment of this form of governmental organization is the dominance of individuals in the handling of public affairs. Before the advent of the Kuomintang there was no political party in China in the Western sense of that term. Each leader collected a following and, if he was strong enough, organized an army. If the army was small he was a bandit. If the army was large he was the governor of a province. The American ward politician and the American city or state political boss corresponds very closely to these functionaries in China.

Chinese students, liberals, and intellectuals entered the Revolution of 1911 with high hopes. They wrote a constitution (modeled on Western lines) that was designed to place China on a par with the great republics of Europe and America. These ambitious nationalists were not far-seeing enough to realize that China was still dependent upon local economic units and that she could not break away from the political forms corresponding to this type of economic organization.

Since the prevalent form of economic organization in China

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was the village it follows as a matter of course that the unit of social organization and social control was also the village unit. Many of the Chinese villages still consist of people having the same immediate ancestors. Villages are generally self-governing. "China is a huge republic within which are myriads of petty republics. For the village, in China, is an autonomous unit. Nominally, it is governed by the central government through a hierarchical series of officials. . . . But actually, with the exception of paying a nominal land tax and in a few other cases, the village is as independent of central government as any British self-governing colony is independent of the imperial government. The village has perfect freedom of industry and trade, and of everything that concerns the government, regulation and protection of the locality. . . . Police, education, public health, public repairs of roads and canals, lighting, and innumerable other functions are managed by the villagers themselves." [23]

Williams describes the Chinese village thus: "The farmer, as a rule, lives with his neighbors in a little village." He then goes into detail regarding some of the more obvious characteristics of village life.

Three-quarters of China at least lives in the village, and the village, unwesternized, remains what it has been for centuries—a self-governing social unit, so nearly self-contained economically that it can forget the outside world and continue to live almost indefinitely on its own land and from its own labor.

The third in this series of persisting Chinese institutions is the family. A village is a collection of families. The family is the social unit out of which the village is constructed.

While there is a great deal of variation in the intensity of family life in various parts of China, it is none the less true that family loyalty and family solidarity are still the most cohesive force in Chinese social life

[23] Y. K. Leong and L. K. Tao: *Village and Town Life in China*, London, 1915, pp. 4-5.

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As a means of maintaining the integrity of the family, family property is frequently left intact. Williams notes that in some instances family property remains undivided for several generations. "One finds grandparents, parents, sons, and grandsons and their several families all living in one home. The home, in such a case, is a group of buildings gathered around several courts. Among the well-to-do each husband and wife will have a house and court for themselves and their children but enclosed within the same compound as the other brothers and cousins." [24] When the family property is divided it is generally shared equally by the sons. Where a son has died his children shared his portion. This practice, as in France, has reduced many of the farmers to hopelessly small working units, too small to yield their owners a livelihood.

Village and family units are the traditional forms of organization in the agricultural areas. In the cities, guild organization supplements that of the family. Some of the Chinese guilds trace their history for more than a thousand years. Their functions are primarily economic.

While it is impossible to distinguish sharply between trade or merchant guilds and craft guilds, such differences do exist. Trade guilds are concerned primarily with the promotion of commerce. Craft guilds deal chiefly with the problems of industrial production. Both types of guilds fix prices, wages, hours of labor and length of apprenticeship. They maintain trade standards of weight, measure and quality, and provide funeral and sometimes sick benefits for their members.[25]

While the village, the family, and the guild are still the predominant forms of social organization in China, they have been supplemented in recent years by a number of institutions imported from the West, all of which reflect the new and revolutionary economy that is being established in China at the present time.

[24] Williams: *Op. cit.*, p. 58.
[25] Williams: *China, op. cit.*, pp. 193-4; Malone: *op. cit.*, Part II, p. 3.

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6. *New Social Institutions*

Social institutions characteristic of the new order in China are the trade unions, the coöperatives, the peasant leagues, political party organization, merchant associations, the new educational institutions, and the army. Most of these institutions had no counterpart in old China. All of them are the product of the last two or three generations of Chinese economic and social evolution. Some of them have developed within a decade. Where the processes of industrialization have gone farthest the old institutions have been most completely wiped out and the new ones are taking their places. "In the wide industrial belt many of the old customs and old modes of living have disappeared and in some provinces the family system is gradually breaking up. . . . In Kiangsu and Chekiang, the two most highly industrialized provinces, the family as an integral unit has almost disappeared. The small agricultural lots under successive family divisions are too poor to maintain the people living on them, and there have grown up towns and villages of people who must trudge to and from the mill every day. . . . There are a large number of people born in the factory district that know that they are intended for the mill or factory when they reach a suitable age—which in many cases is about six years." [26]

7. *Trade Unions*

Among all of the social institutions imported into China from the West during the past few years none has taken root more quickly and effectively than the trade union. The Chinese guild, to which both masters and workmen belong, was founded upon the economic principle of mutuality of

[26] A. P. Finch: "Industrial Awakening of China," *Current History*, June, 1925, p. 426.

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interest between the employer and the employee. The trade union, to which only the workers may belong, is founded on the principle of the class struggle between the owning and the working class. The trade union, therefore, in one sense, constitutes the most revolutionary departure from Chinese tradition.

Trade unions have established themselves in China within a decade. Until 1919 China had no substantial trade union movement.

The movement began in the South. "There had been small beginnings earlier, but the student agitation in the spring of 1919 led to the formation of twenty-six labor organizations. Early in 1920 a successful strike by the Mechanics Union in Hongkong gave a fresh impulse, and more than a hundred new unions sprang up in a few months." [27] In January, 1922, the great Seamen's Strike in Hongkong and Canton, lasting fifty-six days, led to the recognition of the Seamen's Union, an increase in wages, and to a general increase in trade union activity throughout the country. About 23,000 seamen and over 100,000 other workers took part in this strike. The strike marked a new epoch in the labor history of China.

The *Chinese Economic Bulletin* (August 14, 1926, p. 95) gives the following data showing the date of organization of trade unions in Swatow: organized in 1920, one union; in 1921, two unions; in 1922, eight unions; in 1925, eight unions; in 1926, nine unions. Thus, of the trade unions existing in Swatow at the time of the report, two-thirds were organized in 1925-6. The issue for August 21, 1926, p. 114, reports thirteen unions organized in Nanking and Kwangsi in 1925 and nineteen organized in 1926.

Labor organization in Peking began in 1921 with the Peking General Workers Union which included 300 engineers, 400 telephone workers and fifty printers. The Union was sup-

[27] J. B. Tayler and W. T. Zung: "Labour and Industry in China," *International Labour Review*, July, 1923, pp. 14-15.

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pressed within two weeks. It was not until 1925, under pressure of the Shanghai massacre and other parallel events, that it was revived.[28]

Organization on the railways began with the Conference of Railwaymen at Peking in 1922 and a strike of railwaymen on the Peking-Hankow line, in the course of which many of the strikers were shot down by Wu Pei-fu and their leaders arrested and executed." This stimulated organization among railwaymen elsewhere.[29] Organization was carried on secretly through 1923. In February, 1924, the National Union of Railwaymen was organized.[30]

The first national labor conference in China met in Canton in May, 1922. There were about 160 delegates at the conference from twelve cities representing 200 unions with a membership of 300,000 workers.[31] Resolutions were passed calling upon all unions to pledge one another financial assistance in case of strikes; for the eight-hour day; and that the labor movement should be economic rather than political in character.

Industrialization has produced "an extraordinary development of labor organizations of a type new to China. A rapidly rising cost of living in the industrial centers, a growing body of workers, the upper section of which have been increasingly influenced by world movements through seamen and others, the knowledge of huge profits amassed by leading industrial enterprises, and the propaganda referred to above have provided all the factors necessary for bringing the workers together on lines of modern trade unionism." [32]

Trade unions did not develop in China until after the War of 1914. They followed the processes of industrialization and the Revolution of 1911.

[28] C. L. Malone: *Op. cit.*, Part II, p. 15.
[29] C. L. Malone: *Op. cit.*, Part II, p. 14.
[30] Elinor Burns: *Op. cit.*, p. 48.
[31] J. B. Tayler and W. T. Zung: *Op. cit.*, pp. 14-15.
[32] *Ibid.*

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8. *Peasant Leagues*

Peasant leagues sprang up in China after 1923 at a rapid rate. The terrible hardships imposed upon Chinese villagers by the gradual industrialization of China have led to a number of organized peasant movements, looking toward the bettering of peasant conditions. "In the past the revolts have been blind and easily turned by interested parties into anti-foreign (the Boxer Rebellion) or anti-dynastic (1911) movements; but their constant objects are more land and freedom from oppression and arbitrary taxation." [33]

Until 1925 the Red Spears, a militant organization of peasants, were centered in Honan province. In that year twenty-four districts of Honan claimed 400,000 members of the society.[34] During 1925-6 the movement spread rapidly to other provinces. In 1925 the membership in Kwantung province was 200,000. At the end of 1926 it exceeded a million.

When the drive against the Chinese Communists began in April, 1927, some of the peasant organizations had already seized and divided up estates in Central China. Indeed, it was probably the militancy of the peasant organizations more than any other single factor that was responsible for the anti-Communist drive.

The movement remains local and largely secret. There is no way of estimating either its general numerical strength or the permanence of its organization, since there is no central administrative machinery. The peasant movement, like Chinese village life, remains isolated in relatively small, independent units. At the same time the sheer mass of the Chinese small farms and tenant population, the severe economic pressure on them, their brutal exploitation make the agrarian movement one of great moment.

[33] Elinor Burns: *Op. cit.*, p. 50.

[34] R. Miff: "Chinese Peasantry," *Communist International*, December 30, 1926, p. 14.

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9. *A Disciplined Political Party*

Among the social institutions characteristic of the new order in China none is more important from a social point of view than the development of a disciplined political party—the Kuomintang. As an underground revolutionary organization this party dates from about 1895. As an official party contending for control in public affairs it dates from 1912.

Chinese public life has been conducted on a basis of loyalty to individual political leaders. Until the dissolution of the monarchy in 1912 there could be no political activity in the western sense. With the inauguration of the Republic, western types of political organization became theoretically possible. Chinese political habits proved too strong, however; the Republic existed in name but personal leadership (dictatorship) remained in fact.

Sun Yat-sen, who had spent much of his life in contact with western political institutions, insisted upon the necessity of a political organization with clearly defined principles that were at the same time simple, so that the masses could grasp them, and so fundamental that they provided the basis for a new social order in China. Sun Yat-sen formulated these three principles as follows:

(1) *racial equality,* China for the Chinese and the establishment of the Chinese people on a basis of equality with western people; (2) *political democracy,* the popular control of Chinese public affairs by the Chinese people; (3) *industrial democracy,* the socialization or nationalization of some of the more important economic institutions such as railroads and other public utilities.

In addition to these three general principles which provide the groundwork for the Kuomintang program, the platform of the party contained a series of immediate demands. The party program originally adopted in 1924 and reaffirmed by the party

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in 1926 classified these demands under two main heads: a, foreign policies; b, domestic policies.

The first demand under foreign policies reads as follows: "All present treaties not based on the principle of equality between China and any foreign power to be abrogated (thus covering extraterritoriality, foreign control of tariff, 'spheres of influence' and all other political privileges enjoyed by foreign powers at the expense of China) and all other future treaties to be based on such equality."

Any nation which voluntarily relinquished its special privileges in China is to be treated by China as a "most favored nation."

The third demand: "No foreign loan made to China to be repudiated unless detrimental to the political and economic rights of China, or contracted by an irresponsible government for illegitimate uses."

In order to give effect to these demands a national convention "of such groups as chambers of commerce, banking associations and educational associations, to be called to devise ways and means to free China from economic bondage to foreign powers by refunding foreign loans."

Immediate domestic demands include a plan for balancing the control between centralized and decentralized government; a demand for universal suffrage; establishment of civil service; compulsory military conscription, with agricultural and vocational training for the soldiers; guarantees of assemblage, free speech, and freedom of belief; compulsory labor for the "idle and the vicious"; labor laws to be enacted, working conditions improved, and labor organization protected and encouraged; legal, economic and educational sex equality; universal education; "industrial enterprises of a monopolistic nature to be undertaken by the nationalist government." [35]

The Canton *Gazette* of October 30, 1926, printed a further

[35] C. W. Chin: "Origin and Aims of the Cantonese Internationalist Party," *Current History*, January, 1927, p. 528.

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statement of the Kuomintang program which included an important section on peasants. Land rentals to be reduced 25 per cent; land taxes standardized; untilled public land to be allotted to poor peasants under definite regulations; the government to assist the peasants in organizing coöperative unions; the peasants to have the right to organize peasants' self-protection corps.

Provincial congresses of the Kuomintang have added various supplementary clauses to these demands. In the main, however, the demands already stated are sufficient to give the impression of an organized party with a social program and independent of personality.

The Russian Revolution and the organization in China of a section of the Communist International has of course modified the attitude of the Kuomintang. The discipline of the party has been increased. It has laid greater emphasis on the necessity for organizing trade union and peasant groups on the economic field. Nevertheless, the Kuomintang, as a political organization, had already taken definite form before the Russian Revolution. Whatever influence the Communist International exercised in the direction of Kuomintang organization, the party itself is the product of the revolutionary movement in China which antedates the Russian Revolution by many years.

10. *Business Men's Associations*

Associations of merchants and business men organized along the lines of the American chambers of commerce or of the Federation of British Industrials, are replacing the old Chinese guilds. The guild included the worker as well as the master. In recent years the Chinese workers have organized their trade unions and the masters have organized their business men's associations. *The Chinese Economic Bulletin* for August 29, 1925 (p. 130), for September 19, 1925 (pp. 170-178) and for September 26, 1925 (p. 188) reported the organization of

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candy manufacturers, canned goods producers, rice mill owners Peking timber mill owners, soap manufacturers and cigarette merchants. The *Bulletin* for April 2, 1927 (p. 176) noted that "over 100 Chinese bankers and industrialists, representing more than ninety banks, mining companies, chemical works, flour mills, cotton mills and electrical enterprises met at Tientsin on December 12 to discuss various problems in connection with the organization of the national union of financiers, manufacturers and merchants, to be known as the 'Producers' association.' This was merely a promoters' meeting. Delegates will be dispatched to Shanghai, Hankow, Hongkong, Canton and other leading cities of the country to secure the support of other important Chinese interests." It is expected that the organization will be completed during the early months of 1927.

Developments of individual chambers of commerce in Shanghai and Canton are described by J. H. Arnold, in *Changes in Economic Life of the Chinese People* (Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce, 1922, pp. 23-24). Mr. Arnold states that the "Chamber of Commerce has functioned in China for nearly two decades." [36]

The *Chinese Students' Monthly* for January, 1925 (p. 25), in a discussion of an organization of the Chinese bourgeoisie notes that "the one outstanding effort of the merchant class has been the formation of the Citizens' Volunteer Corps. Composed of stock-holding members of thousands of shops in Canton, one from each shop, uniformed, armed and paraded, this militia may be likened to the National Guard organized by Lafayette and other 'orderly revolutionists' in 1789 to protect Paris from the mob. . . .

"But when Dr. Sun was forcibly expelled in 1922 by military dissidents and again when this autumn, if we have any trust-

[36] *See also,* by the same author, *Commercial Hand Book of China,* United States Department of Commerce, Miscellaneous Series, No. 84, 1920, pp. 249 *ff.*

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worthy news, he came into open conflict with the Citizens' Corps, there has been real looting."

Western type business organizations are twentieth century products in China. Like the trade unions they have grown up in response to the economic needs arising out of rapid industrialization.

11. *The New Schools*

Western types of education developed rapidly in China during the twentieth century. Mission schools and colleges have played an important rôle in this process. So have the tens of thousands of students who have studied outside of China since the Boxer Movement of 1900. The *China Year Book* for 1925 (pp. 227 *ff.*) lists by name the universities and colleges in China, gives the number of students in various schools, and publishes an exact translation of the twenty-third ordinance of the Ministry of Education, November 1, 1922.

Since 1911 the internal life of China has been greatly disturbed by revolution, counter-revolution, by the intervention of foreign powers, and by the recent movement against foreigners and foreign exploitation. Nevertheless, there has been a phenomenal increase in the number of schools and the number of students attending school in China. In 1910, China reported 42,444 schools with 1,625,000 students. In 1919, there were 134,000 schools with 4,500,000 students.[37] During the next three years (1921-3) the Chinese National Educational Association reported a gain to 178,981 schools with 6,619,792 students.[38]

Modern types of education, like modern economic organizations, in China, really date from the Revolution of 1911. They are a product of the revolutionary period through which China

[37] M. I. Z. Tyau: *China Awakened,* 1922, p. 4.

[38] A. R. Boone: "China's Educational Awakening," *Current History,* Vol. XXI, 1924, p. 60.

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has been passing. Like the other newer institutions which are developing in Chinese life they represent the effort of the Chinese to adjust themselves to the revolutionary economy that is replacing the village and the craft guild.

There are many other institutions that might be described as characterizing the revolutionary period through which China is now passing. One more should be mentioned—the modern Chinese army.

12. *The Chinese Army*

Li Hung Chang was the first Chinese statesman who realized the necessity of modernizing the Chinese army. During the Tai-ping rebellion he had a chance to observe a corps of Chinese troops organized by General Gordon. After some consultation with General Gordon he founded a military school in Tientsin. Little real change was made in army organization, however, until after the crushing defeat suffered by China at the hands of the modernized Japanese army in the war of 1894-5. In 1895 training quarters were established and Yuan Shih-Kai was put in charge of the task of forming a new army. Yuan employed German instructors and established the nucleus of the modern Chinese army with about 8,000 men armed with weapons bought abroad.

During the Boxer Movement in 1900 this specially trained force was not utilized. The old-fashioned Chinese army fought against modern highly trained Western troops and were completely routed. The lesson was learned once for all, and from that time forward the Peking Government set out to build an army of 250,000 men.

The Chinese have been an essentially non-military people. "Soldiers have for centuries occupied the lowest social scale in China, and only desperadoes and riffraff would enlist." [39]

[39] Chin-Chen Wang: "Military Organisation," *Current History*, June, 1927, p. 366.

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In order to offset this difficulty, military schools were opened and an attempt was made to attract the better class of Chinese men into the army. "The modern Chinese army . . . is better drilled, disciplined, officered and equipped than the obsolete army of a generation ago. Some of the best units . . . are comparable to the armies that were engaged in the World War. They are beyond the dreams of the military leaders at the time of the Boxer uprising. In 1900 not all the Chinese troops had firearms, not to say automatic rifles; to-day the well equipped Chinese army has the latest model rifles, artillery, trench mortars and machine guns. . . . Armored trains and motor cars are now used, and hand grenades and poison gas are also made, though they have not yet come into common use. Trench warfare is now the general rule and airplanes serve in observation and bombing" (*Ibid.*, pp. 365-6). China, like Japan, is apparently providing herself with an army that will compare favorably with those in other civilized countries. As a nation based on village economy and family life she had no need for organized warfare. As an aspirant for membership in the family of Western nations she needs a well organized army and an efficient navy.

How many men are now under arms in China? There is great difference of opinion. One estimate places the number at 3,527,000. "The British edited *China Year Book* for 1926-7 suggests that two million is probably a fair estimate. Since the nationalist campaign to unify China began last fall, the number of soldiers must have increased. An estimate that tends towards the three million mark would not seem exaggerated" (*Ibid.*, p. 367).

These brief comments on the trade unions, the coöperatives, the peasant leagues, the Kuomintang, the business men's associations, and the new Chinese army are doubtless sufficient to indicate China's emergence from the old order and her entrance into the sphere of European twentieth century life. While it is true that village economy still persists in China

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the industrial revolution has pierced far enough to give rise to numerous and important social institutions that embody the principles of a new social order.

13. *Social Groups in Modern China*

China's social life reflects the rapid economic change through which the country is passing. Old social groups persist. New social groups are pushing their way into the arena of public activity.

The social groups that have come down from the old China are: first, the representatives of Chinese officialdom—the monarchists; the provincial political leaders, or war lords; the provincial officials; second, the landlords; third, the Chinese business classes who continue to do business in the former manner; fourth, the craftsmen; and fifth, the farmers and farm laborers.

The representatives of the Manchu monarchy, together with the landlords, have played a reactionary rôle during the present period of disturbance in China. Their interests lay primarily in the maintenance of the old order and, with the revolutionary disturbances that have recently taken place, they have steadily lost position.

The Chinese business classes have occupied an essentially different position during the revolution. The coming of the imperialist to China has involved constant interference both with the Chinese merchant class and with the former Chinese manufacturing class. Both of these classes, therefore, lined up at the beginning, on the side of the Nationalist Movement.

Those elements among Chinese business men who have adopted western methods and accepted the implications of the industrial revolution have had a further basis for opposition to the old order. Not only were they in conflict with western imperialism. They were also lined up against the Manchu régime which played very much the same rôle in China that

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the feudal régime played in Europe during the days when the industrial revolution was establishing a new business class.

One exception to this general rule should be noted. Chinese middlemen profited in many instances directly from the presence of the foreigners. These middlemen, working on a commission basis, represented the big foreign firms that were located in Hongkong, Hankow, and other centers of western business activity. This class of middlemen, who made their living directly through the activity of foreign exploiters, found their economic interest opposed to those of the remaining Chinese business groups.

China has been and still is an agricultural country. Numerically, therefore, the farmers continue to play the leading rôle in Chinese economic life. But industrialism has altered the position of the farmers. With rising prices millions of Chinese farmers have been compelled to go into the cities for a portion of each year in order to earn enough to tide them over the non-crop season. At the same time the Civil War which raged intermittently in China after 1911 resulted in devastating great sections of agricultural territory. This destruction was not primarily caused by actual military conflict, but by the plundering of soldiers and of armed bands of brigands who took advantage of the disturbed condition of the country. Then, too, each local war lord, with a few noteworthy exceptions, levied taxes and contributions on the peasant population or enforced collections of supplies with the military machine at his disposal. Between rising prices, military depredations, and the exactions of unjust taxation, great numbers of Chinese farmers were virtually ruined during the years following 1911. This destruction brought the majority of Chinese farmers into line with the revolutionary movement. To be sure, the well-to-do farmers have established their own organizations in opposition to the revolution.[40] Still, the farming class as a group has lined up with the revolution, and the

[40] R. Miff: *Communist International,* December 30, 1926, p. 15.

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Red Spears and other peasant organizations have played an important rôle in the struggle.

The Canton Federation of Peasant Unions is confined largely to the provinces of Kwangsi and Kwangtung, "but its influence was extending to other provinces." The organization of Peasant Unions is as follows: "The peasants and small farmers in a village are organized in one unit. These units are grouped in towns, districts and provinces. In small villages where there are less than thirty members, they coöperate with an adjoining village." [41]

Malone gives five conditions for membership:

(1) Must own less than seventeen acres of land.
(2) Must not have interests that conflict with the peasants.
(3) Must not be moneylenders who mortgage farms.
(4) Must not be "churchmen."
(5) Must not have connections with imperialists (*Ibid.*, p. 18).

So much for the older Chinese social groups. There are four groups comparatively new to the Chinese scene, each of which has played a rôle in the revolutionary movement: (1), the foreigners; (2), the Chinese business men who have accepted the new methods; (3), the students; and (4), the wage workers.

14. *Foreigners in China*

Foreigners have played a rôle of primary importance during the last century of Chinese history. They may be divided into two sharply contrasting groups: on the one hand are the foreign business men; on the other, the missionaries and educators.

Since the First Opium War, foreign business men have forced their way steadily into larger and larger areas of Chinese territory. Beginning with a precarious foothold in five treaty

[41] C. L. Malone: *Op. cit.*, Part II, p. 17.

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ports they have rapidly extended their trading, manufacturing, and other activities until they cover several score of large cities and extend far up the Yangtse and other Chinese waterways. Foreign business men were the direct representatives of Western imperialism, and it was primarily in their interest that Western imperialism waged its campaigns of aggression in China.

The *Chinese Economic Bulletin* (July 31, 1926, p. 70) listed a total of 7,743 foreign firms in China and 336,841 foreign persons. Distribution by nationality was as follows:

Nationality	*Firms*	*Persons*
American	482	9,844
British	718	15,247
French	176	2,576
German	318	3,050
Japanese	4,708	218,351
Portuguese	174	3,739
Russian	932	79,785
Total	7,508	332,592

From the standpoint of old China, these foreign business men represented a revolutionary movement, the result of which would destroy the old Chinese economy. From the standpoint of Chinese business men, with the exceptions already noted, these foreign business elements constituted a reactionary force, the result of whose activities must be a steady curtailment of Chinese business activity. Chinese wage earners found in these foreigners the personification of economic exploitation. Thus the reaction of Chinese social groups to foreign business elements varied with the social group. In every case, however, the presence of the foreigners produced emphatic results in the Chinese economic and social world.

Missionaries have made up a comparatively small group in the total number of foreigners in China. Lewis Gannett places the number of foreign missionaries in 1926 at about 9,500. This included 8,000 Protestants and 1,500 Catholic mission-

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aries. Of this number "well above half came from the United States and Canada." [42]

Although relatively few in number, the missionaries proved to be a very potent force in Chinese development. They were the direct representatives of Westernism. "They were scattered in more than two thousand mission stations, a score at least in every province of China. They maintained churches, schools, colleges, hospitals; the American Protestant investment alone totaled eighty million dollars and the Americans spent more than ten million dollars a year; the Protestants ministered to nearly a million converts and in their seven thousand schools they taught three hundred thousand Chinese children. Theirs was undoubtedly the greatest international propaganda undertaking in the history of mankind" (*Ibid.*). They were the propaganda corps of westernism.

Granted an utter selfless devotion and the most supreme goodwill on the part of these missionaries, it nevertheless remained true that as representatives of the West they aroused the antagonism of the Chinese people. "They could not be in China as missionaries if they did not feel that they had something to teach the Chinese which is better than anything the Chinese know" (*Ibid.*, p. 417). This is particularly true despite the fact that "the missionaries as a whole sympathize with the moderate nationalists." [43]

While the Westerners, by introducing the industrial revolution, have brought revolt to China, because of the rôle played in China by the imperialists, all foreigners, whatever their mission, found themselves the object of Chinese antagonism. This opposition centered upon the British, but it was distributed more or less freely among all of the imperialists.

The more progressive elements among Chinese business men have opened factories, established mines, organized banks, and

[42] "The Distrust of Missionaries," *Current History*, June, 1927, p. 416.
[43] Quincy Wright: "China's Revolt," *Current History*, June, 1927, p. 345.

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in other ways have accepted the industrial revolution. Their antagonism, both to the Manchu régime and to the imperialists, was immediate and direct. Between 1911 and 1920 they were the backbone of the Chinese Revolution and played the leading rôle of the revolutionary movement. After 1920 their efforts were supplemented by those of the students, the organized workers, and the organized farmers.

15. *Chinese Students*

Chinese students make up a third group which has had a profound influence in expediting the processes of the Chinese Revolution. Even before the Revolution of 1911 student influence was felt in China. Originally this student influence was exercised primarily by those students who had gone abroad.

After the phenomenal success of Japan in the Russo-Japanese War (1904-5) Chinese students flocked to Japanese universities to learn the secret of Japan's success in westernizing herself and in meeting western aggression. At one time there were as many as 20,000 Chinese students in Japan, and for several years Japanese influence predominated among Chinese student groups and much Chinese student revolutionary activity centered in Japan. The growing antagonism between Japan and China, however, and the apparent friendliness of certain Western powers, notably the United States, led to a redistribution of the Chinese student group.

In 1927 P. C. Mong estimated the number of Chinese students abroad at 8,000. "Over 2,500 are in the United States; Japan and France each has about 2,000; about 500 are in Germany; 200 in the British Isles, and 650 in Russia . . . 71 per cent are studying engineering, applied science and the professions; 6 per cent academic courses and pure science, and 23 per cent the social sciences." [44]

[44] "Student Movement," *Current History,* June, 1927, p. 411.

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The Chinese student movement consisted primarily not of students who had studied abroad, but of students who had had their training at home. "In Peking alone there are more than forty colleges and higher schools with no less than 20,000 students." [45]

H. G. Woodhead (*Occidental Interpretation,* Chicago, 1926, pp. 58 *ff.* and 69 *ff.*) cites instances of Chinese student aggressiveness, not against foreigners, but against their own teachers and superiors. "Since 1919 the students have become more and more insubordinate and lawless. They have formed their own unions, which include in their membership boys and girls in their early teens; they have persistently engaged in demonstrations, some of a political, others of an anti-foreign character" (*Ibid.*, pp. 58-59). Weale remarked on the effectiveness of student organization. "A scheme has now been worked out whereby these youths can be mobilized every night, filling the streets with endless marching columns, which are concentrated at certain points, and alarming the population with their savage cries." The same author offers the suggestion that "it will be necessary to remove every institution of higher learning far out into the country as a police measure." [46]

After the Shanghai massacre of May 30, 1925, Harry F. Ward, who was then in China, wrote (*Nation,* July 22, 1925, p. 108): "The student movement of China is a force to be reckoned with in international as well as national affairs. . . . The student uprising means that the absolute control of ignorant, cheap labor by industrialists, foreign and native, is ended sooner than it would have been by the unaided development of labor organization. Hence it is not surprising that the local authorities took advantage of the occasion to raid and close three Chinese universities regarded as scenes of Bolshevik propaganda."

[45] P. Weale: *Op. cit.*, p. 99.
[46] P. Weale: *Op. cit.*, p. 99.

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16. *The Organized Workers*

One of the most important of the modern Chinese social groups is the organized workers. Labor organizations were virtually non-existent until the end of the War of 1914. At the Hankow Conference in May, 1927, membership in Chinese trade unions was reported at 2,800,000.

For June, 1926, trade unions and trade union membership was reported as follows:

District	*No. of Unions*	*No. of Union Members*
Canton	191	195,000
Hongkong	119	207,140
Shanghai	48	149,400

"During the May 30, 1925, shootings, there were more than 209,000 members at Shanghai." [47] Colonel Malone follows these figures with a table of membership by provinces, showing a total, presumably for 1925, of 1,168,018. The All China Labor Federation in 1926 claimed 1,241,245 workers in 699 unions (*Ibid.*, p. 17).

Labor organization still leads in the south, because there legal and above-ground methods can be used. "The province of Kwangtung, of which Canton is the center, is naturally the most advanced." At the provincial congress of the Kuomintang, held in January, 1927, reports were made showing 800,000 organized peasants, 300,000 organized town workers, "as well as students' associations and merchants' unions." Membership in the Kuomintang party of Kwangtung was 158,000." [48]

The trade unions are industrial in form with city and provincial federations and a national organization. "Trade union branches are organized geographically in factories or groups of factories. Each branch has an executive committee. Under

[47] C. L. Malone: *Op. Cit.*, Part II, pp. 14-15.

[48] *Monthly Circular*, Labour Research Department, London, April, 1927, p. 84.

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the executive committee are small groups working in different sections of the mills and factories." [49]

At Canton there are about 180 labor organizations. They are all represented in the Association of Labor Delegates of Kwangtung.[50] In Shanghai the Federation of Labor Unions has a delegate body of 180 and an executive committee of fifteen.[51]

17. *Old China Remade*

China, in the period following the World War, is a country in the making. Old institutions persist and predominate, but new institutions are rapidly forcing themselves into the upper regions of Chinese public life.

Industrialism, encouraged and greatly stimulated by the war, provided the economic foundation for the reorganization of China. Power-driven factories, railroads and motor-cars, large scale selling organizations and western advertising methods were making their way in the Chinese open ports before 1914. They gained rapidly in the subsequent years. It is upon the foundation of these newer economic institutions that China is being rebuilt.

The process of remaking China is very far from complete. Numerically, indeed, it is still in its earlier stages. Thus far great masses of the Chinese people have not felt the impact of industrialism at all except indirectly in the form of higher prices and a changing standard of living.

The modifications in Chinese life and in the form of Chinese social institutions that are implied in industrialization have already taken so deep a root, and have called into being forces so basic, that it is now only a question of time before the China of village economy, craft industry and family life are

[49] C. L. Malone: *Op. cit.*, Part II, p. 16.
[50] *Chinese Economic Bulletin*, February 28, 1925, p. 112.
[51] C. L. Malone: *Op. cit.*, Part II, p. 16.

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replaced by a China of industrial economy, wage labor and commercial and industrial population centers. With these shifts in Chinese economy will go the correlative shifts in social institutions. Isolation will be broken down. Communication and rapid transport will unite the Chinese provinces into an economically interdependent group. Here is the real foundation for Chinese nationalism.

The Western empires found China in 1840 economically stable and socially conservative. In this land of status they sowed the seeds of the industrial revolution. During the post-war years the empires have been called upon to reap the harvest of social revolutionary activity which their sowing has produced.

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V

THE STRUGGLE FOR CHINA [1]

1. *China: a Battleground*

SINCE the closing years of the nineteenth century China has been a battleground across which some of the most important struggles in modern imperial history have been fought. Three principal interests have contended for supremacy:

a. The imperialists, led by Great Britain. Their watchword has been "law and order," which meant, in this instance, the continuance of the unequal treaties; of imperial control of Chinese customs; of the consular courts; of the exploitation of China by foreign business interests. The era of imperial domination was ushered in officially by the First Opium War of 1839-42. It continued, roughly, until the beginning of the modern Chinese nationalist movement in the closing years of the nineteenth century.

b. Chinese nationalism took form in the Boxer Movement of 1900. It broke out again into rebellious protest in the Revolution of 1911. It developed its most widespread expression in the mass demonstrations against imperialism that occurred in 1919, 1922, 1925, 1926, and 1927. The rallying cry of the nationalist movement was: "China for the Chinese; abolish

[1] Most of the material for this chapter was collected in China during the late summer and early autumn of 1927, from actors in the revolutionary drama. The white terror was still raging. Executions were taking place by scores. Men connected with the revolution were hard to reach and slow to talk. The story of this period has not yet been written, even in Chinese. There are here many gaps and omissions. It seemed worth while, however, to include the data as a means of giving the American reader an interpretation of the present trend in the struggle for the control of China.

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inequality and privilege among the nations; put China in her rightful place as an independent and sovereign state."

c. The nationalist movement was not a unit. One section of it was satisfied with national independence. Another section, led by Sun Yat-sen, linked with the demand for national independence two others: democracy in the administration of Chinese political affairs, and socialism in the organization of Chinese economic life. This faction was greatly influenced by Soviet ideas, and after the Treaty of May 31, 1924, between China and Russia, the group was actively assisted by Soviet advisers. It was under the pressure from this group that workers and farmers were organized, stimulated, aroused. The slogan was: "China for the masses of Chinese workers and farmers; Chinese workers shoulder to shoulder with the oppressed of every part of the world; China as a link in the chain of a new social order."

Summarized in three words: imperialism, and revolutionary nationalism were struggling for control of China. After the First Opium War, imperialism had things pretty much its own way. Between 1900 and 1919 Chinese nationalism asserted itself more and more positively, with the needs and demands of the Chinese business class as a basis. After 1919, the students, workers and farmers of China, proclaiming the *Three Principles* of Sun Yat-sen, and with advice and encouragement from the Soviet Union, made a strong drive to organize a working class control of Chinese public affairs.

The struggle between imperialism and revolutionary nationalism for the control of China has followed two well defined cycles: one extending from the Sino-Japanese War of 1894-5 to the Revolution of 1911-12; the other extending from 1913 to 1927. Both cycles were based on imperial aggression. During both cycles the Chinese attempted to meet and counteract the imperial attack. But the second cycle differs from the first in several important respects. The first cycle was a colonial revolt against imperial oppression, aimed at political and eco-

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nomic independence of the exploited colony from the exploiting empires. The second was a colonial revolt against the imperial exploitation of China, plus a mass movement that was aimed at the whole system of exploitation in China, whether carried on by the imperialists or by the Chinese.

2. *The First Revolutionary Cycle,* 1894-5 *to* 1911-12

European empires, after 1870, devoted themselves with great energy to the task of seizing various portions of Africa, Asia and Oceania as sources from which they might obtain needed raw materials, and as markets for their surplus goods and capital. Although the industrialization of Japan did not begin until 1860, the industrial revolution moved so rapidly there that by the end of the nineteenth century, the Japanese business class, like the imperialists of the West, was looking eagerly for raw materials and markets outside the boundaries of the Japanese Archipelago.

The first cycle of the modern Chinese revolution was launched by imperial aggression directed against Chinese territory and Chinese economic interests. Japan was in the imperial vanguard.

Three territories were particularly attractive to Japan: Formosa, which lay to the south of the Japanese Archipelago, and which was an excellent source of food and agricultural products; Korea, which lay close to the Japanese Islands, commanded the Yellow Sea, and was a natural stepping stone to the continent, and Manchuria, with its timber and minerals. In these three areas were the raw materials and some of the markets which Japan lacked. At the first opportunity she seized all three pieces of territory.

A quarrel with China was easily started over a technical violation of their treaty respecting Korea. Japan began the war in August, 1894. She had modernized her army and navy at the same time that she modernized her economic system.

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The Chinese military machine was hopelessly out of date. The Japanese were victorious in one battle after another. Within six months they were threatening Peking, and the Chinese made terms with the despised "dwarf men."

The terms were drastic—as terms imposed by conquering empires upon helpless victims usually are. China was forced to recognize the "independence" of Korea. (Japan did not formally annex the peninsula until 1911.) China further surrendered to Japan the entire Liaotung Peninsula (the gateway to Manchuria); together with Formosa and the Pescadores. In addition China agreed to pay Japan an indemnity of 200,000,000 taels, and to open certain ports.

These terms were very similar, in form, to those imposed by Great Britain on China at the end of the First Opium War, but Japan had over-stepped the mark. True, she had won a sweeping victory over China, but her spoils on the continent of Asia aroused the western powers. Russia, Germany and France united in the demand that Japan give back the Liaotung Peninsula in order to maintain the "integrity" of China. Japan acceded to the demand.

The interest which the western empires had in the integrity of China soon became apparent. Russia led off, in 1897, by seizing Dalny and Port Arthur, thus gaining for herself the control of the Liaotung Peninsula and protecting her interests in Manchuria against Japanese interference. Port Arthur was subsequently "leased" by China to Russia for twenty-five years, with the understanding that it was to be used as a naval base.

The other powers, fearing the predominance of Russian influence in the North of China, promptly followed her example. Germany seized Kiaochow in November, 1897, and later secured a ninety-nine-year lease, with a railroad concession and the right to exploit fuels and minerals in certain parts of Shantung. Britain took Wai-hai-wei in April, 1898, obtained a twenty-five-year lease, and established a naval base. France,

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not to be outdone, occupied Kwanshowan in May, 1898. Thus within three years of the ending of the Sino-Japanese War the four principal European empires had helped themselves to important bits of Chinese territory.

This imperial grabbing in China had a profound effect on the Chinese people. Heretofore the imperialists had nibbled at Chinese territory here and there, taking some morsel that had formerly been a Chinese dependency. Now, however, finding China helpless before so small an adversary as Japan, the imperialists saw no reason why they should not plunder and divide China as they had plundered and divided Africa.

Chinese leaders in politics and business, who had watched the activities of the British Empire in the South, now found themselves confronted with the overwhelming likelihood that the whole of China would speedily be partitioned and reduced to vassalage by the great empires. Their fears were increased by the evident inability of the Manchu rulers to meet the imperial assault.

Seeing the danger that they were facing, a faction of the Manchus secured the ear of the Emperor and persuaded him to issue twenty-seven edicts of reform in July, 1898. The move was hasty. The Chinese people were either hostile or indifferent. The Empress Dowager took the Government into her own hands and punished the reformers. The effort at reform came to nothing.

The defeat and humiliation of China rankled. Popular resentment against the failure of the rulers to stem the imperial tide was running high, directed, in great measure by the secret societies. The Empress Dowager succeeded in turning this resentment against the "foreign devils," and her policy was at least partly responsible for the Boxer Rebellion of 1899-1900.

The uprising was accompanied by an attack on foreigners, and particularly on foreign missionaries. The Chinese, aroused to a frenzy of anti-foreign bitterness, massacred 135 adult Protestant missionaries, thirty-five Roman Catholic priests and

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sisters, and fifty-three foreign children. At the same time several thousand Chinese Christians met death at the hands of the mobs. The uprising was quite general and the massacres occurred in many districts.

The Boxers advanced on Peking, cut the city off from the outside world, and began an attack on the Legation Quarter. The foreigners in the city were able to defend themselves, but with heavy losses, until a force of 20,000 Japanese, German, British, Russian, American and French troops reached Peking.

Reprisals by the foreign troops were as terrible as had been the original attack of the Boxers. Peking was pillaged by the foreign soldiers. Historic monuments were destroyed. "In T'ungchow alone, a city where the Chinese made no resistance and where there was no fighting, 573 Chinese women of the upper classes committed suicide rather than survive the indignities that they had suffered." [2] The authors add: "After this the looting of the treasures of *yamens* and private houses or the carrying off of the astronomical instruments seem insignificant."

Representatives of the foreign powers had agreed by September, 1900, upon the reparations which China must make for the Boxer attacks on the foreigners. There was no bargaining. No counter-claims were allowed or even considered. Once the powers had agreed among themselves, it merely remained for China to fulfill the obligations.

The terms of the settlement were severe. Eleven Chinese officials were to be executed; examinations were to be suspended for five years in the districts where outrages had occurred; missions of apology were to be sent to Europe and to Japan; the importation of arms was forbidden for a term of years; the Taku forts were to be dismantled; the Legation Quarter in Peking was to be fortified; foreign troops were to occupy certain cities between Tientsin and Peking; an in-

[2] Gowen and Hall: *Outline History of China,* New York, 1927, pp. 306-7.

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demnity of 450,000,000 taels was to be paid by China over a period of thirty-nine years. (The total, with interest, was 950,000,000 taels.) This indemnity was to be collected by the Maritime Customs (in the hands of foreigners) and deposited in foreign banks.

The humiliation of the Chinese was complete. Not only were they compelled to pay tribute to the western empires for a generation, but the presence of foreign troops in Peking was a constant reminder of the vassal position to which the Celestial Empire had been reduced.

The imperial plundering of 1895, 1897 and 1898 was followed, in 1900, by the reduction of all China to a position of tutelage from which there seemed to be no escape. Not only had the Manchu rulers failed to protect China, but the policy followed by the Empress in encouraging the Boxers had merely added to the burdens that the Chinese must carry.

The end of the humiliations had not yet come, however. Russia, withdrawing from the conference at which the powers were settling the terms of the Boxer Treaty, occupied Manchuria "because of the disturbed state of the country," and prepared to exploit the territory from which she had helped to exclude Japan six years earlier on the plea of preserving Chinese integrity. Britain and the United States protested the action of Russia. The Russians promised to withdraw, but kept delaying, on one pretext or another, until the Russo-Japanese War (1904-5) forced the Russians to evacuate and brought Manchuria definitely under Japanese influence.

Between 1895 and 1905 China was partitioned among the empires. They fought over her soil and distributed her territory as a part of the spoil of imperial war. Chinese business suffered. The Chinese people suffered. And the Manchus seemed helpless.

The effect on China of this imperial attack was profound. Thousands of Chinese students flocked to Japan after 1905 to learn the secret that had enabled Japan to achieve so re-

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markable a success as the defeat of the great Russian Empire. These students later returned to China, filled with the "modern" ideas. Other thousands went to Europe and America, learned western ways, and came back to liberate China.

The revolutionists, after the return of Sun Yat-sen from Japan in 1905, organized the Tong Min-hui, in which were united the three principal factions of the Chinese revolutionary movement. The united party agreed on: (1) the overthrow of the Manchu Dynasty; (2) the founding of a republic; (3) the nationalization of land; (4) an alliance between the Chinese and Japanese peoples; (5) a policy of calling on the Powers for help in the reconstruction of China.

Even the Dowager Empress, sensing the forces that were at work, issued edicts against the opium traffic; provided for the reorganization of the army; modernized the Chinese school system, and paved the way for a parliamentary government. Railroad development was pushed, and there was an increase of industrialization at the treaty ports. Most of the reforms were begun in 1905 or 1906—a reflex from the Japanese victory and the Russian Revolution of 1905. Slavery was abolished in 1910.

The reforms came too late, however, to stem the tide of revolution. On October 9, 1911, a bomb exploded prematurely in Hankow. Despite the efforts of officialdom to suppress the movement, the revolution was inaugurated on the following day. By the end of the month the power of the Manchus was broken, and on New Year's Day, 1912, Sun Yat-sen was inaugurated at Nanking as the first president of the Chinese Republic.

Manchu power remained in the north, shepherded by Yuan Shih-kai. After some negotiations, in the interests of a united China, Sun Yat-sen resigned in favor of Yuan, with the understanding that the latter would uphold the Republic.

Yuan Shih-kai was inaugurated as President of China on March 10, 1912. This virtually ended the first cycle of revolu-

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tionary activity. The imperialists remained in China, strengthened by the turn of events. The new president was regarded as the friend of foreign business interests, and he soon exceeded expectations. The Manchu dynasty was gone, but in the presidential chair sat a man who had been one of the leading figures in the crushing of the reform movement of 1898, and who had sided with the Manchus until it was evident that their cause was lost.

Beside the educational and the political reforms, with which the first cycle of the Chinese Revolution must be credited, was the overthrow of the feudal Manchu régime and the establishment, at least in name, of a democratic republic. Thus far, with the exception of the formal abolition of slavery, the revolution had made no appreciable change in the position of the Chinese workers. Meanwhile, prices were steadily rising and the process of industrialization went forward.

3. *The Second Revolutionary Cycle,* 1913-1927

The first cycle of the Chinese Revolution was quite simple in form. The immediate causes of the movement were the heavy defeats suffered by China in her conflicts with the imperialists and the humiliations involved in the loss of territory and the payment of tribute. More fundamental, as a cause of the revolutionary movement was the coming of the industrial revolution to China, with its attendant development of a Chinese business class desiring freedom from feudal restrictions on one side and from imperial coercion on the other.

The masses had not been reached by the revolutionary movement to any considerable degree. Business men had financed it. The forces that were making for its success were allied almost entirely with the economic groups in China that desired to see a strong democratic state, or, perhaps, a constitutional monarchy, modeled on Japanese lines, in place of the feudal Manchu Dynasty.

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The second cycle of the Chinese Revolution was far more complicated. It began with the betrayal of the Republic by Yuan Shih-kai. A number of revolts followed, usually originating in the South, several of them under the leadership of Sun Yat-sen. As no single unit of organization was strong enough to unify the whole of China, a number of military, provincial governments were established, with centers in Peking, in Manchuria, on the Yangtse and in Canton and Szechuan. The politics of this period are far less important than its economic and social aspects.

Yuan Shih-kai proved to be no friend of the Chinese Revolution. He began his presidency by offering concessions to many foreign groups, and in April, 1913, signed an agreement for a Reconstruction Loan of $125,000,000. He was already at odds with Parliament. He used the money to strengthen his position and to crush the revolt which Sun Yat-sen and his followers had started in a desperate effort to save the "Republic."

In November, 1913, Yuan outlawed the Kuomintang, unseating more than half of its members in Parliament. From this time on he rapidly consolidated his dictatorial power.

Within a few months Yuan promulgated laws under which he became president for life, with the right to name a successor. Through his appointive power he exercised complete control over the machinery of government—provincial as well as federal. In the autumn of 1915 Yuan "consented" to act as emperor.

Three years had passed since the establishment of the Chinese Republic, which had been welcomed with patriotic fervor by students, business men and revolutionaries. Now an emperor ruled once more in China.

Yuan had reckoned badly. His ambition had run away with his political judgment. The time of dynasties was past in China. The sweep of the Revolution of 1911 should have told him as much. But Yuan donned the toga, and paid with his presidency and his life.

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Meanwhile, in May, 1915, Yuan had agreed to the Twenty-one Demands made in January by the Japanese. Under the terms of this agreement, the political and economic control of North China passed to Japan. This act alone would have cost Yuan his place, since it flew directly in the face of those very Chinese interests that had made possible the Revolution of 1911, and that had been responsible for placing him in the presidency.

This was the most complete humiliation that China had ever suffered. It seemed as though the whole of the Chinese nation had been reduced to the status of Formosa and Korea. There were protests on all sides. Revolt broke out in the South, where Sun Yat-sen and his followers, returned from exile, organized a revolutionary confederation. Support fell away from Yuan. Even the Japanese, upon whom Yuan seems to have counted, deserted him. He was driven from power and died in disgrace.

Upon the death of Yuan Shih-kai in 1916, the Vice-President, whom Yuan had held a prisoner in Peking, assumed the office of President and reassembled Parliament. The Cantonese held aloof. They no longer had supreme faith in the Republic controlled by adventurers.

Li Yuan-hung was followed, in the presidency, by Hsu Shih-chang who, with the Anfu group, openly represented the interests of Japan until they were driven from power by the mass revolt that began in 1919. Evidently there was something more than the faithlessness of Yuan Shih-kai standing between the Chinese masses and a form of government that would defend them against imperialism and exploitation. Many of those who had advocated the republic turned toward a monarchy as the only solution for the chaos of China. Sun Yat-sen and his followers, however, looked for the answer in the newly-awakened mass movement that was germinating in all parts of the country. Where the Chinese business men had failed by compromising with the imperialists, the masses

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might well succeed, provided they could gain control of the governmental machinery and the social institutions.

The World War was progressing. Japan, having signed secret treaties with the chief European Allies under which she was to have the German rights in Shantung, consented to the entrance of China into the war. The following year, while the Chinese were doing their bit for democracy and self-determination, Japan and the United States concluded the Lansing-Ishii Agreement (November, 1917). The agreement recognized that "Japan has special interests in China, particularly in that part to which her possessions are contiguous."

Since Japan is contiguous to the whole of North China, this agreement apparently committed the United States to the principle of the Twenty-one Demands. Again China was in the grip of the imperialists, and this time the United States, heretofore regarded as a friend of China's aspirations for national sovereignty, was a party to the plundering.

The Peace Conference (1919) officially handed over the German privileges in Shantung to Japan, and the Chinese delegates in Paris were being pressed to sign a treaty containing such provisions! Again the wave of Chinese revolution rose. But it was a far different wave than that of 1911. The new series of imperial attacks; the World War; the promises of freedom and self-determination; the united front of empires at Paris, coldly rejecting the Chinese plea for national sovereignty, all played on the imagination of the generation of students that had been educated at home and abroad during the previous decade.

Then, too, China had been transformed economically. War demand had spurred native business. The process of industrialization had been pushed forward with unprecedented speed, and a generation of Chinese business men had been called into existence whose interests lay, very clearly, in an economically independent China.

The same industrializing process had established a wage-

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earning population of from two to four millions, subject to the pressure of rapidly rising prices, and working under extreme conditions of exploitation.

Thus the forces were gathering out of which arose the second cycle of the Chinese Revolution. Briefly, these forces may be outlined in the following way:

(1) Imperial aggression from 1912 to 1919, centering in the Twenty-one Demands made by Japan, and in the Peace Conference decision that Japan should hold Shantung.

(2) Beginnings of mass agitation and revolt.

a. The student revolt of 1919, actively supported by important elements of the Chinese merchant class. The boycott of Japanese goods.

b. The labor revolt, beginning with the Hongkong Seamen's Strike of 1922.

c. Reorganization of the Kuomintang (1924) on the basis of mass support.

(3) The new imperial offensive. The Shanghai massacre. The bombardment of Wanhsien. The mobilization of an army and navy in China.

(4) Extension of the mass movement.

a. The seventeen months' boycott of British goods, centering in Canton.

b. The epidemic of strikes throughout China, 1925-6.

c. Organization of the Communist Party of China. Soviet advisers. Principle of the class struggle.

d. The peasant movement in Kwangtung and Hunan, 1926-7.

e. The Northern Expedition, 1926-7.

(5) The counter-revolution, beginning in April, 1927, organized by Chinese business elements, to check the rising mass movement of 1926-7.

It is impossible, at this time, to present an adequate picture of the period of the Chinese Revolution from 1919 to 1927. The materials are not yet available. An examination of the

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data that is at hand, however, cannot fail to convince the observer of Chinese events that the years 1926-7 witnessed the beginnings of a mass movement in China that has not been paralleled anywhere in the world since the Russian Revolution of 1917.

4. *The Student Revolt of* 1919

Something has already been said about the origin and significance of Chinese student organization. It is necessary at this point merely to call attention to certain phases of student activity.

Chinese students in 1911 found themselves thrust suddenly into a new world. Old China had relied on the authority of the fathers; new China abandoned tradition and forced members of the younger generation to decide questions of conduct for themselves. Among other things, the Chinese students chose to participate in the revolutionary movement. "When young Yang Yu-hwa tried to tell the mixed court at Shanghai why he had made speeches in protest against the killing of a Chinese workman, Assessor Jacobs, the American member, lectured him severely, saying: 'Here is a group of young students going out making speeches on industrial problems which have been puzzling the best minds of the world for 700 or 800 years. Has it ever occurred to you to invite the older Chinese who have had more experience than yourselves rather than try and settle it in the way you have started?' Yang answered: 'I know that it is a hard question, but we must go out and awaken our countrymen,' and Jacobs replied: 'I would like to leave these thoughts with each of you students, that you should consult with the Chinese Chamber of Commerce and with men of more mature years in the future.' "[3]

After the Boxer outburst and the abandonment of the old learning and the introduction of new methods in economic,

[3] H. F. Ward: *Nation,* July 22, 1925, p. 108.

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governmental, and educational fields, the younger generation found itself in a position where it must not only choose its own path, but it must inevitably choose opposition to those who followed the old path and hence to the dominant groups of old China.

Chinese students played an active rôle in the revolutionary movement of 1911.[4]

"Secret revolutionary societies were formed in Japan, America, and Europe. Returned students from Japan and America took the leading part in overthrowing the Manchu régime in 1911. . . . The Tung-Mung-Hui and the 'Dare-to-Die Corps' among Chinese students in America and Japan led the revolution in 1911." [5]

By the end of the World War the Chinese students had established their organization. Upon the announcement from the Paris Peace Conference that the Japanese were to take over German rights in Shantung, the Chinese student movement became vocal. "On the 4th of May some 3,000 students in Peking, most of them from the Government University, marched in a body to the Legation Quarter to present a petition to the British and American ministers protesting against the award of Shantung. Prevented by Chinese guards from entering the Legation Quarter, they made for the house of Tsao-Ju-lin, whom they regarded as the country's arch traitor, forced an entrance, broke the windows, smashed up the furniture and finally administered a sound thrashing to Chang Chung-hsiang, China's Minister to Tokio, and one of the hated triumvirate." [6]

Following this demonstration the students decided to send student emissaries to the leading cities of China for the purpose

[4] Y. S. Tsao: "Returned Students and the Chinese Revolution," *Journal of Race Development,* Vol. IV, 1913-14, p. 96; T. C. Wai: *Youth Movement in China,* New York, 1927, Ch. IV.

[5] P. C. Meng: "The Student Movement," *Current History,* June, 1927, p. 411.

[6] S. High: *China's Place in the Sun,* New York, 1922, p. 128.

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of arousing Chinese protest against the iniquities of the Peace Award. "The students have spread to every district and, supported by popular subscription, are carrying their propaganda and educational campaign through every village. They are teaching an audience, stirred for the first time to listen, the rudiments of geography, political science and patriotism. Along with this, they instill the hatred and fear of Japan and cite for them the boycott as the only hope of salvation from the fate of Korea and Formosa. Literally, millions of farmers, dealers and artisans are talking for the first time of national and international affairs which it never entered their minds that they could express an opinion on, not even when stirred up by the recent revolutions." [7]

The students accompanied their propaganda campaign by a well organized boycott of Japanese goods. Within two months of the beginning of this boycott the results of the student movement were thus summed up in the *Weekly Review of the Far East,* June 28, 1919: "(1) They forced a resignation from the Chinese cabinet of three of the worst offenders who have 'been bartering away China's birthright to the militarists of Japan.' (2) They have started a strong boycott against the consumption of Japanese merchandise in China and it is effective in that Japan's trade in China has already been cut down from one-third to one-half its total before the boycott. . . . (4) They have to a very small degree stimulated among the Chinese merchants a desire to promote the industrial development of China. (5) They have severely frightened the old-fashioned conservative official and military class in China and also in Japan, and regardless of the future, this demonstration of public opinion in this country, that has never known public opinion before, will serve as a check upon the actions of the officials in the future." [8]

[7] *Ibid.,* pp. 133-4; T. C. Wang: *Youth Movement, op. cit.,* Ch. X contains a detailed story of these incidents.

[8] S. High: *Op. cit.,* pp. 136-7.

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On numerous later occasions Chinese students played an active rôle in public demonstrations and in spreading nationalist propaganda. They become, in fact, the crusaders for the new China.

Chinese students took another field for their labors. They entered the labor unions. Where no unions existed they helped to organize them. In some unions they acted as secretaries, in others as advisers. "A definite set of resolutions was adopted at the seventh annual conference of the National Students' Federation held in June, 1925, in Shanghai for the purpose of (1) espousing the laborers' cause in their fight against capitalism, and assisting them to secure adequate protection from the government; (2) rendering necessary assistance to the starting of labor organizations and carrying on propaganda work; (3) founding night schools and publishing mass education literature to help the workman to acquire adequate knowledge in political matters; (4) giving proper backing to idle workmen during strikes." [9]

With the renunciation by the Soviet Union of special privilege in China, the signing of the Treaty of 1924, and the opening of the Sun Yat-sen University in Moscow, there arose before the Chinese students "the question of an industrial revolution to emancipate the oppressed nations and peoples of the Orient. . . . The number of Chinese students in Russia has tripled since 1925. Whether Russia will displace America in cultural influence in China depends upon whether America will make good the ideal of political self-determination which she imparted to the Chinese students." [10] Thus the possibility of building a league of Oriental nations offers the Chinese student movement new worlds for conquest.

Some idea of the spirit animating the Chinese students is presented by Lewis Gannett in a letter dated from Peking,

[9] *Chinese Economic Monthly*, March, 1926, Vol. 6, p. 105.

[10] P. C. Meng: "The Student Movement," *Current History*, June, 1927, p. 412.

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March 18, 1926 (*Nation,* May 5, 1926, p. 496). "The incident with the Japanese destroyers led to student protest meetings. The ultimatum closed the schools in Peking. For the students bear a heavy responsibility in China these days; they consider themselves the awakeners of the people, the molders of a united nation" (p. 497). A committee of the students desired to speak with the Chief Executive of China in order to voice their protest against this latest instance of Japanese aggression. "They were beaten off with clubs. A larger group stood firm in the face of a discharge of blank cartridges, then fell in ranks before the machine guns of the Chief Executive's bodyguard" (p. 496).

The first of the new social forces to be unleashed by the imperial attack on China that accompanied and followed the World War was a student movement of such proportions that shook the old order in China to its social foundations.

5. *The Revolt of Labor,* 1922

Side by side with the activity of the student movement has been the spectacular work of the Chinese labor movement. The students voiced protest. The Chinese labor movement organized it and gave it mass driving power.

There were feeble beginnings of a labor movement in Shanghai as far back as 1916. Not until 1919 did the labor unions become active in Canton. The Hongkong mechanics struck in 1920. During these years the Chinese students were the active and militant leaders of the revolution, pressing their demands upon the workers, who responded meagerly to the call.

Then in 1922 there occurred the strike of the Hongkong seamen. Twenty-three thousand seamen went out. Within a few days one hundred thousand other workers were striking in sympathy. The tie-up in Hongkong was complete. The foreigners did their own work or let it go undone.

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The police acted with vigor. They forbade meetings; closed the union offices; deported the strike leaders. The strike went on. After a month and a half, the Hongkong seamen went back to work with practically all of their demands won.

The result of this strike was electric. The strike movement, directed particularly against the foreigners, spread all over China. "In the Pingshiang coal mines and the Hanyang steel mills, among the Peking school teachers, the weavers of Changsha, the wheelbarrow coolies of a northern city (they wanted their hours reduced from fourteen to twelve), the ricksha coolies of Soochow, in the Canton silk filiatures and match factories—all over China. Six months saw thirty-one strikes in Shanghai alone, involving cotton mills, silk mills, the municipal electric plant and power works, the telephone company, native and foreign tobacco companies, a hospital, the comb-makers, joss-paper workers, cargo coolies, sampan men, laundrymen, cabinetmakers and boat builders. There was a trade boom that year and most of the strikes were quickly won." [11]

The Chinese *Bulletin of the Bureau of Economic Information* (May 9, 1923) lists Chinese strikes for the 1921-1923 period. It is an impressive exhibit. Chinese workers had never before been called upon to use these labor weapons of the West. Almost overnight the use of the strike spread through China, and the workers took to it like ducks to water.

Another fact became evident as the strikes went on: the Chinese workers understood the meaning of inter-trade solidarity. There were no craft unions in China with generations of tradition behind them. When the Hongkong seamen struck, workers in other trades and in other places came immediately to their assistance. "The railway employees in far-off Honan Province were very enthusiastic in the collection of funds for the benefit of the Cantonese strikers. The Chinese labor guilds of Honan and Chihli Provinces stated that

[11] L. Gannett: *Young China*, New York, 1927, pp. 21-2.

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this was the first trial of strength between workers and capitalists in China. This was the first organized strike in China which the Chinese people in the interior provinces heard of." [12]

The demands put forward in these early Chinese strikes are significant in the extreme. The Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce [13] lists the demands and settlement terms of Hongkong strikes:

(1) Substantial wage increases were generally granted.

(2) Reductions of hours were generally obtained.

(3) Provisions were made for reinstatement of strikers.

(4) Adequate notice before dismissal was frequently secured.

A silk strike occurred in Shanghai in June, 1926, when 800 workers in the Yung Yui mill walked out, demanding: (1) an increase of 10 per cent in wages; (2) work to start at 6 A.M. instead of 5 A.M.; (3) no wage to be left unpaid at the end of the month; (4) no worker to be dismissed without good cause. Two days later a sympathetic strike began in other mills. After five days the workers all went back, after obtaining this agreement: (1) an increase of 5 per cent; (2) working hours 6 A.M. to noon and 1 P.M. till 5 P.M.; (3) no worker to be dismissed without reasonable cause; (4) no victimization, and payment of wages during the strike; (5) freedom to meet and to strike.[14]

The Chinese strikers frequently demand the payment of wages for the time that the workers were out on strike. This demand was granted in the case of the Yung Yui strikers. There are many similar cases on record. The view held by the Chinese is as follows: "If the workers were in the right in going on strike, if there were grievances to be righted then they are entitled to some compensation for hardship suffered in the course of disputing the case." [15] As for the workers

[12] Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce: *Trade Inf. Bull.* No. 61, p. 2.

[13] *Trade Inf. Bull.*, No. 75, October 30, 1922, pp. 14-17.

[14] C. L. Malone: *Op. cit.*, Part II, pp. 6-7.

[15] John Smith: "Hongkong," *Foreign Affairs,* August, 1926, p. 37.

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who were not reinstated after the strike because their places had already been filled "some compensation, in lieu of reinstatement, might be discussed, in the case of those who could prove that they had been regularly employed before the strike, and had found no equivalent employment" (*Ibid*). Under such conditions a strike may become a very expensive affair for the employer as well as for the worker.

The general strike of 1925, with its momentous consequences for the Chinese labor movement and the revolution, began when a foreman in a Japanese cotton mill struck and seriously injured a twelve-year-old girl worker. The strikers were shot down in Shanghai. There were sympathetic strikes in Hongkong and Canton. Foreign soldiers were used to disperse crowds and to prevent demonstrations. The loss of life was heavy, but the masses had made the struggle their own. They were striking as workers in defense of workers.

It was during this 1925 strike that another very important development took place in the Chinese labor movement. "The Council of Shanghai Trade Unions, which was formed at the very commencement of the strike, very soon became the acknowledged center of the labor movement. . . . In the United Committee (which included beside the Council of Trade Unions also the Council of Students' Organizations and the Committee of Street Unions, containing small traders), the Council of Trade Unions was undoubtedly the most influential organization, which led the remaining bodies." [16]

It was this line of development which prepared the Shanghai Council for the rôle that it was to play in the seizure of the Chinese city when the Nationalists approached it on March, 1927.

Within a few years the organized labor movement of China had not only learned the use of the strike as an economic weapon, but it had also placed itself in a position where it

[16] I. Heller: "Labor Movement in China," *Communist International*, No. 17, 1925, pp. 9-10.

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could use its organization for the advancement of the interests of the Chinese masses.

The Chinese labor movement began as a part of the Nationalist struggle to win Chinese freedom from foreign domination. At that stage in its development it had the support of those Chinese business elements that were gaining through the Nationalist successes. When, however, the workers began to strike against Chinese firms, there was a reaction, during which such leaders as Wu Pei-fu banned union meetings, executed union leaders, and used the bloodiest tactics for the suppression of Chinese labor. The labor movement weathered this storm of 1923, and emerged to fight the battles of 1925-7.

6. *The Reorganized Kuomintang*

Beside the student revolt of 1919 and the militant labor movement after 1922, the second cycle of the Chinese Revolution produced a political party—the reorganized Kuomintang or People's Party. The Kuomintang represented certain interests in Chinese life and worked for those interests, under a published program, by bidding for popular support and proposing and electing candidates to public office. Such an organization was quite novel in China.

Elections were novel. There has never yet been a general election in China.

People had accustomed themselves to personal government. At the head of affairs, for centuries, there had been a sacred emperor, surrounded by a nobility and a gentry whose power was, in the main, hereditary. Other men who desired to enter public life either passed the civil service examinations, or else they organized a following, became military leaders, and then took power by main force. Political parties and elections were quite foreign to Chinese experience.

Sun Yat-sen and many of his fellow revolutionists had lived in western countries and observed western political methods.

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They were convinced that these methods could be successfully installed in China. Hence they advocated a republican form of government, with all of the machinery that the West had evolved.

The growth of a modern industrial class in China created the same needs for "law and order"; for stabilization and centralization; for speed and efficiency in governmental affairs, that were felt by the industrialists of the West. Here, then, was a group whose interests pushed it in the direction of political government and western party machinery—a group prepared to back the efforts of the revolutionists to establish the People's Party.

Historically the Kuomintang was descended from a number of revolutionary organizations that had existed in China since about 1895. Until 1912 these organizations were generally secret and illegal. During 1912-13 the Kuomintang enjoyed a brief respite from persecution. In 1913, when Yuan Shih-kai outlawed the party, it was again forced underground.

Through these earlier years of activity Sun Yat-sen and his fellow revolutionists directed their energies toward the organization of an armed revolt that should overthrow the Manchu Dynasty and establish a Chinese Republic. They drew their support from the Chinese business and professional classes and made little effort to reach the masses. Experience, however, showed that the establishment of a republic meant nothing unless there was some basis of support that would enable the republic to survive.

The Republic which was launched in 1912 was under the control of the feudal militarists. Revolutionists like Sun Yat-sen were outlaws and exiles. Even in Canton, where Sun Yat-sen and his followers were later able to establish themselves, they were twice driven from power by ambitious military leaders.

These experiences, supplemented by his contacts with Joffe and Borodin, convinced Sun Yat-sen that there must be a

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basis of mass support behind the revolution if it was to break the power of militarism and imperialism. The success of the student movement in 1919, and the wide effectiveness of the labor movement after 1922 led Sun Yat-sen to throw his influence in favor of making the Kuomintang a mass party.

Some of Sun Yat-sen's most intimate co-workers for the revolution were bitterly opposed to this policy. Drawn from the ranks of the gentry and the business and professional classes, they wished to confine the power of the party to the ruling classes of China.

Thus, in 1923, there was a division of opinion in the Kuomintang that was to lead to open conflict in 1926-7. For the moment, however, Sun Yat-sen had his way. The party was reorganized early in 1924.

During 1923-4, Sun Yat-sen delivered a number of lectures that were collected and printed under the title: *Three People's Principles*. The Commercial Press of Shanghai brought out the first English edition of the book in the summer of 1927. These three principles were:

I. Independence of China as a nation.

II. Democratic control of the internal life of China.

III. The socialization of the more important units of economic activity, such as railroads, electric power, etc.

In order to safeguard "the people's livelihood," the reorganization convention of the Kuomintang, in January, 1924, adopted these three principles, and issued the following program:

(1) All unequal treaties to be abrogated.

(2) Nations that voluntarily abrogate their unequal treaties and surrender their unequal privileges will be given most-favored-nation treatment.

(3) All loans that do not injure the country politically and economically, to be repaid.

(4) A conference to be convened to consider the method of repayment.

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(5) Loans contracted by militarists, which did not serve the good of the people of China, not to be repaid.

The Kuomintang further decided that as a matter of tactics, in the carrying out of this new program:

a. China must coöperate with the Soviet Union.

b. Communists should be admitted to membership in the Kuomintang.

c. The Party should build a basis of mass support, by organizing the farmers and workers.

The Kuomintang was now built on a mass basis. Local units were established throughout China. The units were organized into districts, and the districts into provincial organizations that were, in their turn, united in the central organization of the party. The form of organization was new to China, but the principle of organization was well understood, and the membership of the party grew with great rapidity.

Thus, in the years from 1919 to 1924 three movements had been launched: students; labor; a mass party. All were aimed at imperialism. The labor movement and the Kuomintang were based on the Chinese masses and were aimed at exploitation, whether practiced by the imperialists or by the Chinese.

7. *Imperialism on the Defensive*

Chinese nationalism was rising like a tide. Its roots were deep. Unit by unit it was building powerful organizations that threatened the foundations of imperial control in China, and endangered the imperial front across the entire Far East.

Any incident might have precipitated a conflict between the Chinese masses and the imperialists at this juncture. One occurred at Shanghai on May 30, 1925.

Students had observed May 7 as "Humiliation Day." It was the date on which the Chinese Government, ten years previously, had accepted the Twenty-one Demands made by Japan. Feeling was intense. Workers in the Japanese-owned

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mills went out on strike. At one of the mills there was a clash in the course of which Japanese guards killed one Chinese worker and wounded several others.

A mixed court heard the case; it sentenced the Chinese strikers for inciting to violence, but refrained from taking any action against the Japanese guards who had shot the Chinese workers. Patriotic sentiment was aroused. Students and workers, acting through their unions, began demonstrating. The police, in the International Settlement, forbade the demonstrations and arrested the leaders. The students, who were leading the movement, went out of their way to be arrested in order to state their case and gain for their cause a wider publicity.

On May 30, 1925 (Memorial Day) a memorial service for the Chinese worker was announced for a public place in the International Settlement. The police disbanded the meeting and drove a part of the crowd toward the Louza police station. There was some fighting, and the British Inspector of Police, in charge of the district, gave his men the order to shoot to kill. The police fired point-blank into the unarmed crowd, killing five, fatally wounding four others, and injuring many more.

This incident was the signal for the most impressive demonstration of mass solidarity and power that the Chinese had ever made in their long struggle with the imperialists. Chinese newspapers called for action. Students went through towns and villages, stirring up the people. There were mass meetings, parades, protests. The imperialists retaliated by further shooting. In Canton, on June 23, British and French soldiers stationed in the Foreign Settlement of Shameen, fired on a demonstration with a loss of Chinese lives that was officially reported by the British at thirty-seven. There was a clash in Hankow during which eight Chinese were killed. Chambers of commerce and local guilds joined the movement of protest. A general strike was called that affected even the house servants

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and the employees of municipal services such as water and electricity. Ricksha coolies refused to pull foreigners. Stores would not sell them goods. The boycott and strike were carried into Hongkong, and into Canton where the most determined opposition centered.

The Cantonese maintained a boycott of British goods that lasted through seventeen months. An elaborate system of pickets was established. These pickets were fed and maintained at public expense. British goods were neither loaded nor unloaded. British cargo steamers ran empty from port to port. The boycott was one of the most effective in modern history.

Although the boycott did not begin until the middle of 1925, British exports to China for that year dropped off by more than a third, and the losses of the British business houses located in South China were even more severe. Hongkong was still suffering from the effects of the boycott in the autumn of 1927.

Could the imperialists have stopped at this point in their attacks on the sovereignty of China, they might have held off the mass movement of 1926-7 a little longer, but their elaborate system of exploitation could not be so easily controlled. In one instance after another the imperialists used their guns in order to maintain their positions, and each time they fired they intensified the opposition of the Chinese.

Among other institutions in China, the British had organized a river patrol on the Yang-tse, which is navigable for more than 1,600 miles. Armed British vessels were therefore passing up and down the river, far in the interior of China. In the year following the Shanghai episode, a British steamer, the *Wanliu,* rammed and sank a barge carrying Chinese soldiers, of whom fifty-eight were drowned. The officers of the *Wanliu* were seized by the local Chinese authorities and held on a charge of criminal negligence. The British gunboat *Cockchafer* made an attempt to rescue the officers; became embroiled with the

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local Chinese army; it lost seven killed and fifteen wounded, and ended by bombarding the civilian population of Wanhsien, killing a large number of people and destroying much property. The number of Chinese killed in the bombardment of the city has never been determined, but the Chinese claim that it was 5,000.

Whatever the number, the incident served to fan to a fever heat the anti-foreign feeling which had had no parallel since Boxer days.

The Nationalist Government in Canton, having collected an army, began a northward march "to Peking" in August, 1926. Nothing could more clearly indicate the aroused state of the masses than the ease with which this comparatively small and ill-equipped army, operating at a great distance from its base, was able to pass through hostile territory from Canton to Wuhan in less than four months. The organized peasants along the way facilitated the passage of the expedition; the workers in the principal cities coöperated in destroying the power of the feudal militarists. Hankow fell without a struggle. The Nationalists were made a gift of Kiukiang. Shanghai, the principal commercial center of China, and the greatest income-yielding prize in the country, was seized by the armed workers before the Nationalists reached the city.

The Nationalist capital was moved from Canton to Hankow in December. In January, 1927, the Hankow masses overran and looted the British concession. A month later the British authorities turned the concession over to the Chinese.

During December, 1926, and January, 1927, the situation became so threatening that the Imperialists concentrated their nationals at the treaty ports. Interior mission stations and schools were evacuated. Many of the missionaries and teachers left the country.

As the Nationalist armies moved north, feeling grew tenser. Chiang Kai-skek occupied Shanghai March 21. Three days later rioting broke out in Nanking, during the occupation of

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the city by the Nationalist troops. Seven foreigners were killed. In the course of the rioting, United States gunboats, on a signal from Socony Hill, opened fire, laying down a barrage about the buildings, where the United States Minister and a number of Americans were threatened with attack by the mob. British gunboats joined in the bombardment.

From the Shanghai Massacre, May 30, 1925, until the bombardment of Nanking, March 24, 1927, imperialism was on the defensive in China. The Nationalist armies were sweeping north with irresistible force. Not only had the imperialists lost so heavily in prestige that their citizens were not safe on the streets of many Chinese cities, but in one instance after another they shot down demonstrators and bombarded civilian populations in an effort to stem the tide of mass protest that was running so strongly against them.

8. *The Chinese Mass Movement of* 1925-1927

The Peace Conference decision to turn Shantung over to Japan called forth a protest in 1919 that was led by students. The imperial shootings and bombardings of 1925, 1926 and 1927 resulted in a protest that was led by the workers, the peasants, and the women as well as by the students. The movement of 1925-1927 was a mass movement in every sense of that term.

Probably the most important single factor in this mass movement was the South China boycott of British goods which began early in June, 1925, and was not called off until October 10, 1926. Certainly no other part of the Chinese offensive cost the imperialists more money, and certainly none gave to the Chinese a greater sense of their own solidarity and power.

The turn that affairs were taking was indicated by the epidemic of strikes that swept over China in 1925-6. The *Chinese Economic Journal* for March, 1927, reported that in Shanghai alone there were 169 strikes in 1926 involving 202,042 workers.

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Many of the strikes were of relatively short duration, but the longest lasted for eighty-four days. Other industrial centers of China felt the pressure of a similar labor struggle. These strikes were not all against foreigners. They were conducted by workers who were demanding an offset to the rising price of rice, and an increase in their working and living standards.

Another important indication of the trend was the rapid increase in the membership of the Communist Party of China. The Communist Party had been organized in 1921. Until 1924, however, it had been relatively unimportant. In the latter year vigorous attempts were made to increase its activity. A Young Communist and a Pioneer movement were got under way, and the Communist organization began to function as a directing power in the work of the various mass organizations. By the spring of 1927 the Communist Party and the Communist Youth Movement reported a combined membership of 55,000.

Impetus was given to the growth of the Communist movement by the presence, in South China, of a number of Soviet advisers, who assisted the Canton Government in various capacities. The chief adviser was Michael Borodin.

Communist workers emphasized the importance of the class struggle as a factor in social reorganization. Chinese economic life, prior to the period of industrialization, had been built on the guild, in which both masters and their workmen were members. The family and the clan systems of China had tended to emphasize a similar theory of social solidarity. The class struggle idea was therefore foreign to traditional Chinese experience. With the beginnings of industrialization, however, a wage-earning class came into existence that experienced the class struggle in its daily conflicts with the employers. At the same time it was not difficult to convince many of the landless tenants that the interests of the tenant and the landlord were not identical. Above all there were the imperialists—foreign exploiters who lived on a scale far above that of the Chinese

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masses, made immense profits out of their ill-paid labor, and used guns at a moment's notice to defend their privileges.

Communist teachings therefore found a ready response in the industrialized treaty ports, and in provinces such as Kwangtung and Hunan, where the percentage of peasants was high.

There was another reason for the ready reception that was accorded to Communist teachings. Republicanism had been preached for a generation in China, with the slogan: "Drive out the Manchu; establish a Republic; all will be well." When the Manchus were gone and the republic set up, the Chinese still found themselves at the mercy of the imperialists. Furthermore, the republic did not stick. On the contrary it was being used by ambitious militarists for the advancement of their own selfish interests. Evidently there was some point that the republican enthusiasts had overlooked. Here the Communists took a hand.

Until 1926 the peasants played no considerable part in the Chinese revolutionary movement. After that date they became a factor of great significance.

There were two types of organizations to which the peasants belonged. One was a secret, military organization like the Red Spears. These organizations were largely under the control of local leaders. They came into existence as a means of defending the villages and the countryside against the bandits and the scattered armed bands that were living on the peasants. The pledge of allegiance imposed upon members of the Red Spears included a vow to punish bandits, to help the poor and to remain loyal to the organization. In Kwangtung Province members swore "to work for the cause of the oppressed workers and peasants, to work for the overthrow of the oppressors, to help bring about the social revolution for the sake of the cause and of my own interests." [17]

The other type of peasant organization was the Peasant

[17] R. Miff: "Chinese Peasantry," *Communist International,* December 30, 1926, p. 13.

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Union. Unlike the Red Spears, the Peasant Union was a national organization, with its locals, its district and provincial bodies. Membership was confined to small land owners, tenants and workers.

The Canton *Gazette* of January 1, 1927, gives this description of the composition of a peasant union in the Haifung district: farm hands, 10 per cent; self-employing farmers, 20 per cent; self-employing farmer tenants, 30 per cent; tenants, 40 per cent. The organization also included, beside these land workers, 500 artisans; 300 unemployed; 400 boatmen; 30 students; 30 small merchants; 10 small land owners; 10 village school teachers, and one magician.

The peasant movement spread through Kwangtung, Hunan and into Szechuan and other southern provinces. In all of them there was a serious tenant problem.

During the early months of 1927, these peasant organizations had grown so strong that they were able to take local affairs into their own hands. Land was seized and divided in at least one locality; tyrannical landlords were tried and executed by peasant courts. The whole of Chinese society, with the exception of a fringe of modern industry and commerce, rests back on the land. This movement of the peasants therefore threatened the entire system of Chinese economic and social organization.

Most of this mass activity centered in the south and in a number of treaty ports. But in 1926 the Southern armies, under the command of Chiang Kai-shek started north. Month after month they made their way until, in an incredibly short time they had reached the Yang-tse, and half of China was in their grip.

Here was a menace indeed. The "reds" were leaving Canton, the traditional seat of Chinese revolutionary activities, and spreading over the country, threatening, not merely the industrial areas but the agricultural areas as well. The ease with which they marched from province to province showed the

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extent of the sentiment in their favor. The masses were moving in a way that threatened the whole fabric of Chinese society.

Imperialism was on the defensive in China, but so were the Chinese exploiters—business men and landlords alike. It was at this point in the revolution—the capture of Shanghai by the armed workers under the direction of the General Labor Union and the occupation of land by the organized peasants of Hunan —that the ruling classes of China made common cause with the imperialists to check the mass movement that was taking possession of the Chinese Revolution.

9. *The Counter-Revolution*

Chinese employers and Chinese landlords, faced with the growing militancy of the labor and peasant movements, decided that the time had come to make a stand. The mass movement threatened the exploiting power of the Chinese business class and of the Chinese gentry, who stood between the imperialists on the one side and the exploited masses on the other. The Chinese ruling class had encouraged the students to boycott foreign goods and had benefited when the workers struck against foreign manufacturers and merchants, but when the mass movement threatened their own economic position they were quick to react.

Chinese business class opposition to the mass revolutionary movement manifested itself first in their attempt to suppress labor demonstrations. The *Chinese Economic Bulletin* of August 30, 1924 (p. 10), reported the Chungkiang Labor Union as dissolved by the Chief of Police and the Commissioner of Defense.

In Tientsin, in 1926, labor unions were illegal under Chang Tso-lin. "They are prohibited inside the Foreign Concessions as well as outside. There seems to be some subterranean attempt to form organizations." [18] As for Hankow: "It is per-

[18] Malone: *Op. cit.*, Part II, p. 15.

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haps rather inaccurate to speak of 'unions' at all. . . . For, Wu Pei-fu being then in possession of the district, trade unions were illegal" (*Ibid*). Trade union membership in Shanghai fell heavily from 1925 to 1926. "The trade unions were suppressed by the Fengtian troops when they reached Shanghai in September, 1925, the leaders inside the International Settlement being handed over to the troops outside" (*Ibid.*, p. 16). Militarists in all sections of China fought the unions.

Here was a clear line of distinction. On one side was an effective alliance between the imperialists and the militarists to destroy trade union organization. On the other side was the Nationalist Movement, depending upon the organized workers and farmers for its success. As a matter of course, therefore, the organized workers were "wholeheartedly in favor of the Nationalists." [19]

Chinese business elements were still siding with the Nationalist Movement. Thus far only the Chinese feudalists, like Wu Pei-fu, Sun Chuan-fang and Chang Tso-lin had coöperated with the imperialists in their efforts to destroy the mass movement. The events of 1927, however, made it evident that the mass movement was threatening the whole Chinese economic and social structure. The revolution was becoming a proletarian revolution.

"It was the laborers who took the Hankow Concession from the British. It was the laborers who took the Kiukiang Concession the same way. It is the laborers who inspire the chancelleries of Europe, the Foreign Office of Japan and our own State Department with apprehension as to the fate of the Shanghai foreign settlements. And it is the laborers who have put fear into the heart of Sun Chuan-fang and against whom he has sent out his execution squad." [20]

Sun Chuan-fang's "execution squad" attempted, in February

[19] Frank Godwin: "Labor Takes Power in Shanghai," *Nation*, April 27, 1927, p. 475.
[20] H. K. Norton: New York *Times*, February 27, 1927.

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and March, 1927, to crush the Shanghai mass demonstrations in favor of the Nationalists. After the fall of Hangchow the Shanghai post office, street railway, and other workers struck as a declaration of solidarity with the Nationalist movement. Sun countered with what an eyewitness described as "a perfect orgy of killing." Students and labor leaders were the victims of this attack, which undoubtedly had the support, tacit or active, of the Chinese business elements in Shanghai.

But Sun was driven out of the city by the General Labor Union, and the mass movement swept on.

Danger was threatening, however. There were signs, on every hand, that the conservative element in the Nationalist movement were preparing an attack on the leaders of the mass movement.

The All-China Labor Union called a one-hour general strike in March as a protest against counter-revolution and intrigue. The Central Executive Committee formulated the immediate program as:

(1) The fight against international capitalist-imperialism in China, especially British military intervention.

(2) To urge the complete accomplishment of the Nationalist Revolution.

(3) To support the struggle of the democratic revolutionary forces against feudal dictatorship.

(4) To support the nationalist Government in its efforts to overthrow militarism.

Then there followed a number of demands for the eight-hour day; for equal pay for equal work of men and women; labor legislation; wages based on the cost of living; prohibition of the work of children under thirteen; freedom of labor union organization.[21]

It was this very drive and clearness in the labor struggle, plus the growing power and clearness in the peasant movement that led to the counter-revolutionary stroke of April, 1927,

[21] Canton *Gazette*, March 23, 1927.

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directed by Chiang Kai-shek, and supported by the conservative elements in the Kuomintang.

There had been a sharp difference of opinion within the Kuomintang ever since the reorganization in 1924. The party was not restricted to any particular part of the population of China. Any one who could find proposers might be voted into the organization. Thus professional and small business men frequently dominated party activity in those centers where the business elements were strong.

The Western Hills Group, which was in open opposition to Sun Yat-sen in the Convention of 1924, and which later withdrew from active work in the party, represented professional and intellectual people—the well-to-do and the gentry. These elements viewed with apprehension the admission of Communists into the party membership, and when the mass movement commenced, they were convinced that their privileged position in China was threatened. They believed in a republican or a limited monarchical form of government. They were strenuously opposed to soviets.

As the tide of mass opposition arose in the spring of 1927, these conservative elements, within and without the party, gained in the definiteness of their purpose. They must check the revolution before it went too far—before it tore away the foundations of Chinese bourgeois society.

Chiang Kai-shek had been in the opposition for at least a year. His military victories in the South during 1926 gained him prestige. The growth and efficiency of his army centered more and more power in his hands. When the question of a northern expedition came up, it was Chiang Kai-shek and his supporters who insisted, and the Communist elements in the party who opposed the move. Borodin urged that the northern expedition be delayed for a year, until the necessary propaganda preparations could be made, and until the movement could gather greater headway. Chiang had his way, and the expedition started.

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The left wing elements in the Kuomintang were in favor, once the expedition was on its way, of staying in the west, avoiding Shanghai, and establishing a strong position with headquarters on the Yang-tse. Chiang Kai-shek was in favor of attacking and taking Shanghai. Again Chiang had his way. He was in control of the army, and the successes which he had gained on the northern march had greatly added to his power.

When Chiang approached Shanghai, toward the middle of March, 1927, the General Labor Union, through its armed defense force, actually took over the Chinese city, so that General Sun Chuan-fang, who was supposedly in control of the city was really driven out by the organized workers before the nationalist troops occupied the city on March 21.

One of the first acts of Chiang's army was to forcibly disarm the workers of Shanghai. Numbers of workers were killed in the process.

Three days after the occupation of Shanghai occurred the rioting and the bombardment of Nanking. This was the turning point in the revolutionary cycle.

Chiang Kai-shek had never gone to Wuhan, new seat of the Nationalist Government. Despite the orders of the Kuomintang and of the Nationalist Government at Wuhan, he remained in Shanghai and ultimately set up his own government at Nanking. This Nanking Government of Chiang's was never much more than a screen behind which he could use his army for the advancement of his ambitions, but it served that purpose; tided over the period of the white terror and served as a bargaining point in the organization of the Nanking Government on September, 1927.

Simultaneously, in the territory under his control, he and his supporters attacked the left wing elements in the revolutionary movement. The process was summary. Those who were known to be Communists, and many who were merely suspected of Communist tendencies were seized, and in many cases, immediately executed. Chiang was supreme in the

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army, and the army was used to "purge" the Kuomintang, the unions, the peasant movement and the student organizations. Leaders who had a record for militancy were shot by hundreds. There was a second wave of executions in June, 1927, and a third wave in September. By that time the Nationalist movement was purged. The revolutionary leaders were either dead, imprisoned or in hiding.

There is no way to determine the exact number of revolutionaries who were executed between February and September, 1927. Few figures were published. The army and the police made no public reports. But competent observers believe that the number was between five thousand and ten thousand.

Be that as it may. The number of executions was great enough to leave the control of the unions, the peasant movement, the student organizations and the Nationalist Government entirely in the hands of the professional and business elements. The Government that was organized at Nanking on September 20, 1927, contained not a single member who was even mildly left in his attitude, and there was, in the new Government, no representative of labor or of the peasants. The Chinese business and professional elements were in complete control of the machine which the Chinese masses had been using in the early months of 1927.

The General Labor Union of Shanghai, together with the labor bodies in the more important cities had been reorganized. In Shanghai there was a Labor Reorganization Committee, headed by a Cantonese officeholder. The published manifesto of this Committee declared: "With the harrowing experience of struggling with the former communist union still fresh in their mind, it is not unnatural that many of the employers view with disfavor the unions as an institution. However it has been proved in industrial countries that unionism coupled with good leadership tends to increase efficiency and helps harmonize the relations between the employer and the employee. We assure them that they have nothing to fear from the reor-

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ganized labor union, but instead they will have much to gain. . . . While its mission is to protect the legitimate interests of the working class, the new union countenances no hostility toward the employing class."

The Nanking Government issued a manifesto on September 24, 1927, directed mainly against the radical elements in the Nationalist movement, and pledging itself to the "ruthless extermination of the Communists." More than half of the manifesto was devoted to an attack on the Communists and their methods. Imperialism was denounced only incidentally in the document.

Two days later the *China Courier,* official organ of the Nanking Government, announced that the last "stigma of red influence had been erased from the Nationalist Government" by the abolition of the Political Committee. In the same issue the official Kuo Min News Agency reported that: "Dr. C. C. Wu, Minister of Foreign Affairs; Dr. Sun Fo, Minister of Finance; Admiral Yang Shu-schwang, Commander of the Nationalist Navy and five other Nationalist leaders were guests of honor at a tea reception given yesterday afternoon by the Shanghai General Chamber of Commerce, Shanghai City Chamber of Commerce, Amalgamated Association of Street Unions and Shanghai Merchants' Association. The reception was given in the General Chamber of Commerce Building." (A Street Union is an organization of merchants doing business along a street.)

This announcement tells the story. The Nanking Government had reached a point in its rapprochement with the business elements where it could enjoy the official approval of the entire Shanghai business group.

Thus the second cycle of the Chinese Revolution ended with a reign of white terror, and the formation of the Nanking Government in September, 1927. At the end of the first cycle the revolutionists were driven under cover by a feudal warlord. At the end of the second cycle the revolutionists were

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driven under cover by a general and a government representing the will of the Shanghai General Chamber of Commerce.

10. *The Third Cycle of the Revolution*

Yuan Shih-kai ended the first cycle of the Chinese Revolution by outlawing the Kuomintang, and driving its leaders into exile. Republican forces were routed. The feudal militarists came trooping back into power.

Chiang Kai-shek ended the second cycle of the Chinese Revolution when he split away from the Kuomintang Central Executive Committee; allied himself with the Shanghai and Nanking business elements; set up his own government at Nanking, and made his murderous attack on the Communists and left elements in April, 1927. By June, thousands of the revolutionary leaders were dead or in exile. Chang Tso-lin, Sun Chuan-fang and the feudal militarists were supreme in the North. The Chinese business elements of the Lower Yang-tse dominated Nanking. Tang Shen-tse, an ambitious militarist was in control of the central provinces. Only in the South, among the peasants of Kwangtung and Hunan, and in some of the more important industrial centers among the workers who were maintaining their underground movement, were the revolutionary forces still active.

China was split into several autonomous, semi-feudal regions in the summer of 1927. Civil government was subordinated. Military leaders were in control everywhere, levying taxes, requisitioning supplies and raising additional armies. Exploitation was intensified. The mass movement had been decapitated and scattered, but the forces that had called it into being were still operating, and at a quickened pace.

Through the winter of 1926-7, and in the spring of 1927, the imperialists had been on the defensive. They were even driven from some of their concessions by the rush of the mass movement. The split in the ranks of the Nationalists, headed

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by Chiang Kai-shek, gave them the opportunity for which they had been waiting. Chinese nationalism was no longer united. The imperialists could easily penetrate its broken front.

Japan seized the occasion to begin the third cycle of the Chinese Revolution, by announcing a "positive" policy for Manchuria and Mongolia.

Japan initiated each of the three cycles of the present Chinese revolutionary movement. She had no choice. Her pressing necessities for raw materials, markets and investment opportunities compelled her statesmen to take the lead in the plundering of China. The Sino-Japanese War and the seizure, by Japan, of Formosa, the Pescadores and the Liaotung Peninsula in 1894-5 began the first cycle; the seizure, by Japan, of German privileges in Shantung, and the Twenty-one Demands made by Japan upon China in 1915 launched the second cycle; the new Japanese demands relative to Manchuria and Mongolia have inaugurated the third cycle of the Chinese revolutionary movement.

The conflict over Manchuria and Mongolia, launched in September, 1927, is, in the first instance, a conflict between Japan and the Manchurian war lord, Chang Tso-lin. Chang has enjoyed Japanese backing for years. On the whole, he has served Japan well. Why should the master and servant now be in conflict? Simply because the master represents imperial aggression, and the servant is the victim of the Japanese attack.

Chang Tso-lin draws his men and money from Manchuria. In order to consolidate his position and increase the economic resources at his command, Chang has found it necessary to build some railroads.

The South Manchurian Railroad is Japanese. Under an agreement between Japan and China in 1905, initiative in Manchurian railroad development was virtually left with Japan. At any rate they have dominated the field for two decades. Now, however, that Manchuria is being rapidly opened up (it is estimated that in 1927 800,000 Chinese settlers will move

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into Manchuria) railroad development by the Chinese looks profitable. Chang has made extensive plans, and has already done some railroad building without the consent of Japan. Japan has replied with her new and "positive" Manchurian policy.

Japan has gone farther than a mere protest against Chinese railroad building in Manchuria. According to Chinese sources her positive Manchurian policy includes demands relating to the whole matter of Japanese economic development in the North of China.

The Chinese *Eastern Times* of August 16, 1927, published the "complete text" of the new Japanese demands. The *China Weekly Review* (September 24, 1927, p. 88) summarized these demands as follows:

(1) The right to build six branch line extensions of the South Manchurian Railway. giving the Japanese a complete monopoly.

(2) The right to develop Japanese cattle and sheep ranges in the interior of Manchuria and Inner Mongolia.

(3) The right of Japanese interests to develop the forest and minerals of Manchuria and Inner Mongolia.

(4) Right of the Japanese to reside anywhere in Manchuria and Mongolia on the same basis as the Chinese.

(5) The right of the Japanese to own and deal in land anywhere in Manchuria and Inner Mongolia.

(6) The right of the Japanese to extend police protection over their nationals anywhere in Manchuria and Inner Mongolia.

(7) Japanese to be given first choice in the development of any native resources in these areas.

(8) Japanese to be granted the right to establish schools and temples anywhere in Manchuria and Inner Mongolia.

(9) Manchuria and Inner Mongolia must be kept free of all political disturbances and no military forces from the outside either Chinese or foreign will be permitted to enter the area.

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The demands are familiar. They are the Twenty-one Demands of 1915, slightly modified in form, and applied to Manchuria and Mongolia alone instead to the whole of North China. Their acceptance involves the surrender, by the Chinese, of political and economic sovereignty over a territory about one-third as large as the whole of the United States.

Why do the Japanese persist in such demands? Can they not foresee that the same results which followed them in 1915 will follow them again a decade later?

Why does the United States make similar demands upon Panama? Cuba? Haiti?

Because such demands are necessary to the control of political and economic life, and the control of political and economic life is an essential of imperial exploitation.

The Japanese at the Washington Conference of 1921-2 apparently accepted the Open Door policy. The Treaty which they signed at Washington on February 6, 1922, declares:

"Article III. . . . The contracting powers, other than China, agree that they will not seek, nor support their respective nationals in seeking:

(a) any arrangement which might purport to establish in favor of their interests any general superiority of rights with respect to commercial or economic development in any designated region of China;

(b) any such monopoly or preference as would deprive the nationals of any other power of the right of undertaking any legitimate trade or industry in China, . . . or which, by reason of its scope, duration or geographical extent, is calculated to frustrate the practical application of the principle of equal opportunity."

Article I of the same treaty declared that the contracting parties agree "to respect the sovereignty, the independence and the territorial integrity of China." [22]

[22] *Treaties, Conventions, etc., Between the United States and Other Powers,* Vol. III, p. 3120.

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Japan's Manchurian Demands are a manifest infringement of both the spirit and the letter of the Treaty of February 6, 1922. They are a blow in the face to the Open Door policy. But the Open Door policy is an impossibility in a world delivered over to imperial exploitation. The United States does not even consider an Open Door in Latin America, but insists upon the Monroe Doctrine. Japan's Manchurian Demands are the Monroe Doctrine of North China.

China has been quick to protest against this latest Japanese attack on her sovereignty. Japanese goods were boycotted in Canton during late August and September, 1927. Numerous strikes broke out in Japanese owned mills and shops in Shanghai. In Manchuria there were strikes, demonstrations and agitation among the workers and students. Thus the stage was set for the beginning of the third cycle of the Chinese Revolution. The tempo of the Revolution is quickening. The first cycle covered twenty years; the second cycle, ten years. The third, following directly upon the heels of the second, and with the impetus of the mass movement which the last three years of the second cycle inaugurated, will evidently proceed with still greater expedition.

11. *Lines of Conflict,* 1927

The background of the struggle for China in 1927 can be stated in a paragraph: (1) continued economic development—industrialization; road-building; increasing investments of Chinese capital; rising prices; increasing taxes. (2) The steady dissolution of old Chinese social institutions—family, clan, village—through the impact of the new economy. (3) Continued political disunity; local rule in North and Central China by military adventurers ambitious for a career, and representing the interests of the gentry or of the Chinese business elements; reconcentration of the revolutionary forces about Canton. (4) Increased pressure by the imperialists.

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(5) A constant broadening and deepening of the Nationalist movement. (6) The reassertion of the mass movement.

The position of the imperialists in China grows constantly more critical. They cannot withdraw. The losses in wealth and prestige would be too great. Besides, the imperialists did not go to China for the purpose of withdrawing. If the imperialists do not withdraw they must push forward, as Japan is doing, with exacting demands that will serve to stimulate and arouse the growing sense of nationalism that is manifesting itself throughout China.

If Japan continues her attack, Britain and the United States must either intervene and compel restitution as they did at the Washington Conference, or else they must demand a share in the Chinese prize. Either line of action will strengthen the Nationalist movement.

The imperialists must make their new attacks in a very large and populous country that is constantly training and arming military units. During the summer of 1927 the imperialists had at least 160 war vessels and 45,000 soldiers and sailors in Chinese waters and on Chinese territory. The estimate of the number of Chinese under arms ranges all the way from 1,750,000 to 3,500,000. Some of these Chinese soldiers are badly equipped and ill trained. Some, both in equipment and discipline, will compare favorably with a modern European army.

The imperialists must make these new attacks with a divided front. Economic and political sources of imperial conflict are multiplying. New chasms are opening between the leading competitors for Chinese trade and business opportunities. Japan has been pushing steadily forward in Manchuria and Inner Mongolia despite the specific pledges which she gave at the time of the Washington Conference. She must. Britain and the United States have many fields for exploitation in Asia, Africa, Latin America. Japan's interests are centered in Eastern Asia. To Britain and the United States the Chinese market is incidental. Japan sells one-fifth of all her exports

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in China, while cotton, iron, coal and food products come to her from China. Japan's position in Eastern Asia is a matter of imperial life and death.

British and United States interests in China are far from identical. The British held the dominant position in China for generations. United States business interests would like to gain that position. Japan holds it. The United States is second in the race.

During the World War United States and Japanese interests in China gained considerably. British interests lost heavily.

Britain is fortifying Singapore. The United States is making Manila a citadel of imperial power. Both cannot remain in control of imperial affairs in the Far East.

Imperialism has no united front in China. The imperialists are fundamentally divided. Japan came unwillingly to the Washington Conference. She signed the treaties, but she is not maintaining or trying to maintain the open door in China.

After 1922, when Britain continued her gunboat policy in China, Japan refused to coöperate. Her interests were too immediate. Her position has been essentially opposed to that of the other empires. Her signature to the Russian-Japanese Treaty in January, 1925, helped to define the Japanese rôle. Since Japan's interests lay on the East Coast of Asia, her alliances must be made there. Thus Japan evolved from the champion of the Twenty-one Demands in 1915, to the champion of a free China in 1923.[23]

Imperialism entered the struggle for the control of China, after the Washington Conference, with a long record of aggression and plunder; with no apparent disposition to abandon the rôle, but rather to intensify it; with the background of assumed superiority over China; with divided forces.

If the imperialists are divided in China, so are the various elements in the Chinese ruling class. First there are the di-

[23] K. K. Kawakami: "Basis of Japanese Diplomacy," *Current History*, June, 1927, pp. 403 *ff.*

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vergent interests of the Chinese gentry and the Chinese business groups. The gentry were satisfied with the monarchy, and would be willing to see it restored, if they thought it were a working possibility. The gentry are local, feudal, clan or family chieftains, exercising what power they hold for the advancement of provincial, or local, or of personal advantage. Their conflicts with the imperialists are not based on serious economic differences.

Chinese business elements, on the other hand, that are seeking the development of Chinese manufacturing, the expansion of Chinese trade and the opportunity for Chinese investments, are in direct business competition with the imperialists. This is one of the reasons why Canton, which has been dealing with the foreigners for the longest period, has been the chief center of the revolutionary movement. The Chinese compradore class—buyers and middlemen for the imperialists—are directly allied with the foreign business elements with which they coöperate.

Territorially, too, the Chinese ruling class is divided. Each city, district and province has its own autonomous organizations, with no effective centralizing force. Local tax levies on trade and commerce, local monetary systems, local economic self-sufficiency, all help to emphasize disunity.

The Chinese owning class is necessarily opposed to the Chinese mass movement, which is new in China in its present forms (unions of wage-workers, peasants and students). Nevertheless, the mass movement must stay. The forces that called it into being: the pressure of the imperialists on one side and of the Chinese gentry and business men on the other leave no other avenue open to the exploited masses. They must unite as best they can, and defend their position against native and foreign exploiters. While they will undoubtedly direct their first attack against the imperialists, the Chinese masses cannot avoid a conflict with the Chinese exploiters. The class struggle thus provides another element of Chinese disunion.

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Imperialism is struggling to prevent the rise of the Nationalist movement in China. The Soviet Union is striving to encourage the Nationalist movement.

The Soviet Union is behind the Chinese Nationalist movement for four chief reasons:

a. Since the Revolution of 1917 the Soviets have been in conflict with imperialism. They need allies. They are seeking those allies in Asia. Since the rôle of China in Asia is so strategic and central, the Soviets aim to have China as one of those allies.

b. European imperialism is stronger in Asia than in any other colonial area. If its hold can be broken there, European imperialism as a world force will be permanently crippled. The Soviet authorities know this. So do the imperialists. Hence the immense concentration of diplomatic and military activity in Asia and the struggle for China.

c. Asiatic nationalism seems to be the first step toward breaking the hold of western imperialism in Asia. This has proved to be the case in Japan, in Turkey, in Persia, in Siam. It will unquestionably be true in the case of China.

d. Asiatic nationalism is one of the very important elements in the world revolution that the Soviet authorities count on to destroy capitalist imperialism and open the way for the advent of Communism.

China is still a battleground. Across this vast country imperialism, Chinese nationalism and the forces of the workers and farmers, both in China and in the Soviet Union, are waging one of the most important conflicts of modern times. Although the conflict for the control of China has passed through two cycles, it is very far from completion. In 1927 it seems as though there were years of struggle ahead. Out of this struggle will emerge a transformed people, and probably a transformed continent.

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VI

CHINA AS A WORLD FORCE

1. *The New Asia*

HISTORIC processes in China cannot be satisfactorily described without some reference to their effects upon other parts of the world. Recent Chinese developments have had a profound influence, not only upon the Far East and upon other portions of Asia, but they have played an important rôle in modifying the direction and the velocity of western imperialism.

A few years ago it would have been easy for Western Europeans and Americans to conclude that developments in the East were of no great consequence to Europe. Asiatics were generally regarded as "inferior" and the possibility of an Asiatic development parallel to or in advance of the development in Europe was dismissed, almost with contempt.

Times have changed. Japan stepped upon the modern industrial stage about 1860. Within forty years a tribal society, based on agriculture, village economy, and craft industry, was converted into the Japanese Empire. The victories of Japan over China (1894-5) and over Russia (1904-5) established the fact in the Western mind beyond the possibility of a reasonable doubt. Japan could organize murder and destruction with the best of the Western Empires. At last she had arrived. She was "civilized." The insular position of Japan facilitated this transition. Nevertheless, it was proof conclusive that a cultural system, developed in the West through centuries, could be adapted to at least one part of the East in decades.

The World War came. Until 1914 most Westerners had

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been comparatively sure of themselves and of their culture. The war robbed millions of that faith. The failure of Europe to recover after the war catastrophe and the active preparations that were immediately begun for the next conflict between the great empires have done even more to broadcast the idea that the Western imperial organization was by no means the final word in social development; that the next conflict would wipe out European "civilization"; that the twilight of Europe had come. Spengler's *Decline of the West* typified this point of view. Thus at the same time that Asia was rising in the scale of imperial economy, Europe was falling even in its own estimation.

Chinese labor, after 1922, displayed a capacity to use the strike and the boycott which would have done credit to the most highly developed labor movements in Germany or Great Britain. Yet the Chinese workers were unacquainted with labor organization and labor activity until after the World War. Here again, Asiatics were able, in a few years, to utilize social machinery that the West had built through a century of painful effort.

Furthermore, the past history of Asia, far exceeding that of Europe in duration, and antedating it by many centuries, furnishes almost convincing proof of the capacity of the Asiatic peoples for high cultural achievements.

To-day it is impossible to describe Asiatics as inferiors. Asiatics are Asiatics; human beings who live in Asia. What does this mean for the future?

An economist, surveying the untouched resources of Asia and comparing them with the partially exhausted resources of Europe and America, could not fail to realize the immense economic possibilities of modern industrialism in Asia. Not only is Asia the largest land mass of the world but it possesses some of the world's greatest natural wealth.

The same thing is true of population. Two-thirds of the people of the world live in Asia. Thus, Asia is provided at the

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outset of its economic development with an immense reserve of labor power.

Throughout Asia, village economy and family organization are being replaced by manufacturing, mining, railroading, and other phases of Western economy. These economic changes have their social counterpart. Eastern customs are being rapidly broken down under the impact of Western industrialism. The Turkish Revolution, with the changes inaugurated under the leadership of Kemal Pasha, is an excellent case in point.

Asia has not yet adopted a new economic and social system. At the same time she is abandoning the old order. Between the new and the old lies a chasm of uncertainty. What will fill it?

The old bases of Asiatic social control are disappearing. New bases have not yet been established. Can imperialism meet the need and provide acceptable social forms, or does the Soviet Union hold the answer to this historic situation?

2. *Asia in Rebellion*

For thirty years Asia has been in rebellion against domination by the Western imperialists. In the opening years of the twentieth century all Asia, except Japan and some of the more remote portions of the interior were under the control of the Western Empires. By 1927 the grip of the imperialists on Asia had been broken.

China has played the leading part in smashing the imperial offensive in the Far East. Her rôle has been decisive. During the first quarter of the present century she crumpled the cutting edge of imperialism, checked its advance and permanently crippled its movement in Asia.

Perhaps this function of the Chinese Revolution is not yet apparent. But the history of the present epoch will undoubtedly show that the changes of the last few years in China were the deciding factors in destroying imperial power in Asia.

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Asia has been the leading experiment station for imperialism, and China has been the prize plot. As a reserve of raw material and cheap labor, as a market for goods, as a field for capital investment, China has been unrivaled. So far as the imperialists were concerned, China was the goose that was laying the biggest golden eggs.

All of the great empires entered the competition to dominate the economic opportunities of China. Britain held a monopoly of India and Canada; the Monroe Doctrine practically restricted imperial development in Latin America to the United States. Africa had been partitioned among the imperial rivals. China remained the battleground in which Western interests held more than $3,000,000,000 of property, and for which Britain, Russia, Japan, Germany, France, the United States and the other imperial nations were in active competition. After the middle of the nineteenth century, between the Sino-Japanese war (1894-5) and the World War (1914) the imperial exploitation of China reached its zenith. With the Chinese Revolution of 1911 it entered on its decline. In short, Western imperialism in Asia hit the rock of the Chinese Revolution of 1911. Six years later it began to go to pieces under the mass drive organized by Chinese workers and farmers and supported by militant labor throughout the world.

Had imperialism possessed sufficient vitality to dominate China, as Britain had dominated India during nearly two centuries, the remainder of Asia would have been swept along in the wake of a triumphant, world-ruling imperialism. But China rebelled. From the Boxer Movement of 1900, through the Revolution of 1911, and up to the violent anti-foreign demonstration of 1925-1927 the Chinese made it evident that imperialism was doomed in China, and hence, in Asia.

The imperialists had things almost entirely their own way in China from the First Opium War (1839-42) to the Boxer Rebellion (1900). During these critical years, when they were, in a very real sense the masters of the Chinese situation,

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their system of economic and social organization was on trial before the people of China and of Asia.

During those years the imperialists showed, in the most unmistakable way, what a people in the higher stages of village economy, might expect at the hands of victorious imperialism:

(1) The seizure of their territory.

(2) Control of customs, indemnities, forced loans and other forms of economic domination.

(3) The ruthless exploitation of resources and of workers.

(4) The domination of the political life of the "backward" people and the violation of every aspect of sovereignty.

(5) Gunboat diplomacy; the arbitrary rule of armed force, and where necessary, the indiscriminate slaughter of the local population.

(6) Consistent social discrimination against the local populations.

Hundreds of millions of Asiatics, living in the stage of higher village economy, were so unorganized and so poorly equipped that they were entirely at the mercy of the better organized and armed imperialists. Hence the outcome lay for the time being with the imperialists, not with the Asiatics.

China was a golden opportunity for the imperialists: (1) To show that imperialism did not necessarily kill the goose that lays the golden eggs. (2) To show that if the goose will go on laying she may expect bed and board on a scale of living commensurate with the value of the eggs she is producing. Imperialism failed in both respects.

By introducing machine industry, the imperialists created a rival economic class in China which destroyed their market.

By their ruthless exploitation of the Chinese workers, by their arrogance and their terrorism the imperialists have made themselves the "devils" of the Chinese people. Imperialists are hated. Imperialism is denounced, execrated, cursed. Enough has been printed on preceding pages to indicate the justification for this attitude. The struggle in China, since the

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Boxer Rebellion of 1900, has been a struggle to be free of imperial influence and power.

Imperialism was virtually unhampered in China for sixty years. It made its own black record in its own ruthless way. From the time of the First Opium War to the bombardment of Nanking the imperialists have committed one predatory act after another, until opposition and resentment reached such a pitch that in the spring of 1927 citizens of the imperial nations were not safe on the streets of the principal Chinese cities.

Imperialism has failed in China. It has not resulted in federation or coöperation. It has not advanced science. It has not led to enlightenment. It has not beautified or ennobled life. On the contrary, it has produced hatred, conflict, war—exposing itself as a subversive force among the people that it exploits.

China is in a peculiarly favorable position for economic development. It has very great natural resources. Its population is large, with a long tradition of highly skilled craft work. Chinese business men, time out of mind, have handled the business affairs of the East and have built up the very extensive guild system in China. They are therefore evidently capable of business organization. Since the Hongkong Seamen's Strike, Chinese workers have shown an equal capacity in the direction of labor organization and solidarity.

To be sure, China is still a predominantly agricultural country, but many trading and manufacturing centers have sprung up during the last thirty years and wherever they have developed Chinese business men and Chinese workers have alike shown themselves capable of using the technique of modern industry.

The Chinese can use Western technique. They can organize and build—factories, railroads, trade unions and army divisions. They are bitterly opposed to imperial exploitation and they are evidently preparing to wipe it out within their borders.

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Other sections of Asia occupy very much the same position as does China. They, too, are living under an economy predominantly agricultural, with the family and the village organizations as the basic units of social life. They, too, have recently witnessed the establishment of modern factories, mines, railroads and other industrial enterprises. As business men the natives of India, Turkey and Egypt have found themselves in active competition with the Western manufacturers and merchants. As wage-workers, the masses in these countries have felt the terrible pressure of Western industrial exploitation. Business men and workers alike have been subjected to the humiliations imposed by "superior" Western Europeans on "inferior" Asiatics and Africans.

Economically and socially, the great bulk of Asiatic people and many of the people of Africa are living on a culture level similar to that occupied by China, and have similar experiences with imperialism. Economically and socially, therefore, these peoples can understand the experiences through which China is now passing and can prepare themselves to follow in her footsteps if it appears that her path leads to advantageous economic and social results.

If China can shake off the grip of Western imperialism, avoid the worst abuses of private capitalism, and establish the foundations of a new social order, freed from economic competition and war, this whole Asiatic area may be able to follow suit. Since the Asiatic area includes two-thirds of the world's population, such a development would carry in its train unprecedented advantages for the human race. No culture movement in history has ever included so vast a portion of mankind. No culture movement has ever struck so suddenly or so deeply into the traditional life of the world's masses. Literally, therefore, in vastness, at least, this Asiatic revolution is without historic parallel.

The Chinese movement, looked at in this light, becomes one of the most significant in history. "Of all this revolt against

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white domination which we have seen stirring into action throughout Asia, the actual thrust, the spearhead of the movement we find in China."[1] The Chinese movement is not only a movement away from imperialism—it is a movement toward a new social order in a portion of the world hitherto largely untouched by modern economic and social developments.

3. *The Influence of China in Asiatic Revolt*

Imperialism has been checked in Asia—checked by the Asiatic revolt, centering for the time being in China. Is it possible to estimate the extent of this revolt or the rôle which China has played in stimulating it? During the last three or four years the subject has attracted much attention among students of Asiatic affairs who have tried to answer these questions from a background of first-hand observations, but without any general analysis of economic forces.

Asia, for convenience in this discussion, may be divided into:

(1) Former Chinese territory that has been lopped off by the great empires during the past few decades. In this category would fall Korea, Formosa, Annam, Siam, Burma, Thibet. Broadly speaking, this territory is or has been a part of the Chinese Empire. It is all geographically contiguous.

(2) Imperial possessions in Asia outside of China, such as the East Indies, the Philippines. These territories have never been under Chinese control but all are near China.

(3) Independent Asiatic States that have never been subject to China, Turkey, Persia, Afghanistan. These states have been oppressed by imperialism, but never by China.

(4) Finally, there is the great Eastern empire, Japan; industrialized; pressed by an excessive population; reaching for raw materials and markets on the Continent of Asia, and troubled at home by her own radical and labor movements.

[1] Upton Close: *The Revolt of Asia,* 1927, p. 63.

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Korea is a good example of territory, formerly belonging to China, that has recently been seized by imperialists. Korea had long been looked upon as a tributary to China, but following certain attacks on foreigners by Koreans in 1866, Japan ignored China and made a treaty directly with Korea. This treaty served as a stop-gap until the Sino-Japanese War of 1894-5. At the close of this war Japan stipulated, as one of the terms of the treaty, the "independence" of Korea. Within a decade the peninsula was under the complete control of Japan.

Japan and Tsarist Russia had been competing for control in both Manchuria and Korea. The defeat of Russia by Japan in 1905 gave the latter a free hand in Korea, which was seized by Japan with the full knowledge of the great powers, including the United States. The Treaty of Protectorate was dated November 17, 1905.

During the next five years Japanese imperialists exploited Korea intensively. By a second forcible treaty (1907) Japan acquired military, judicial and administrative rights in Korea and disbanded the remnants of the Korean army. The Oriental Development Company was organized in Japan to take over Korean land and other enterprises. Japanese goods were dumped into the Korean market at ruinously low prices. Korean workers, hired on Japanese enterprises, were roughly handled. The press was muzzled. Coercion was widespread; wholesale arrests were made.

Korea, with its 20,000,000 of people, was officially annexed to Japan August 29, 1910. From that date until the end of the World War, Korea was in turmoil. F. A. McKenzie gives a first hand account of those terrible years, in *Korea's Fight for Freedom* (New York, 1920). The result of the reign of Japanese frightfulness was a mass movement that culminated in the Declaration of Korean Independence of March 1, 1919. On that day in Seoul, 100,000 people met in Pagoda Park and solemnly declared Korea an independent nation. On the

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same day, in 300 other Korean centers, a similar ceremony took place.

The movement of 1919 was wholly peaceful. Under the inspiration of the Christian missionaries, men walked, unarmed, up to the Japanese soldiers, carrying their flags and singing their songs, but offering no violence. Seven thousand were killed; 46,000 were wounded; 50,000 were imprisoned, flogged and tortured.

The Peace Conference was then sitting at Versailles. Koreans, delegated by the Korean Provisional Government at Shanghai, tried to bring their case to the attention of the treaty makers. Like the representatives of so many other exploited peoples, they failed completely. Again in 1921-22, at the Washington Conference, the Koreans tried, without success, to get a hearing. The Conference merely confirmed the right of Japan to hold and exploit Korea without any reference to the wishes of Koreans.

Meanwhile, the Korean revolutionary movement had come into being. An underground movement, it was bitterly persecuted by the Japanese. In May, 1927, fifty-eight persons, accused of activity in the movement, were executed. Pak Kieng read a very detailed history of the Korean revolutionary movement at the First Congress of the Toilers of the Far East.[2]

Revolution in Korea has paralleled revolution in China. The form of the two revolutions has been quite different. But the Koreans have undoubtedly drawn inspiration from the Chinese successes.

Upton Close describes the situation in Siam, where modern organization and means of communication are creating a new country where "government is efficient and humane" and where "labor is better paid than in any other Asiatic country" (*Op. cit.*, p. 29). "Revolt has taken the happiest of forms in this peaceful kingdom; the calm assumption of political

[2] *Communist International*, Petrograd, 1920, pp. 74-98.

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and economic power without any disagreeable manifest challenge to the White Man."

Siam, on March 25, 1927, publicly declared her "full legal equality among the nations. The last of the Consular Courts in Siam was closed by the ratification on March 25 of the treaties with Belgium and Luxemburg, and two days later the new customs tariff went into force."[3] Britain, France and the United States had already agreed upon the transfer of jurisdiction to Siam. Obviously, this is not a part of the Chinese Revolution. Undoubtedly, however, it is a related event.

It is as yet too early to determine how extensive has been the influence of the Chinese Revolution upon former portions of the Chinese Empire. That the Chinese Revolution has had some effect must be accepted as a matter of historic fact.

India is one of the imperial colonies of Asia in which the revolutionary movement has made some headway and in which the effects of the Chinese Revolution are being profoundly felt.

India has a well established revolutionary tradition. Since the British occupation of India many native revolts have occurred. One rebellion, that of 1849, was savagely suppressed by the British. From 1904-1914 India was ruled by Lord Curzon, a British bureaucrat, whose arbitrary acts aroused widespread hostility among the Indians. Self-government promises lulled the storm during the War of 1914-1918. In 1919, however, the Legislative Assembly of India passed the Rowlatt Acts, with every Indian in the Council voting against the bills. These acts limited freedom of expression and placed arbitrary powers in the hands of the British rulers.

Ghandi and his followers answered these acts and other repressive measures with a campaign for civil disobedience and a boycott of British goods that made heavy inroads on British trade and economic success in India. In November, 1919, the first All-India National Congress adopted Gandhi's program.

[3] *Current History*, July, 1927, p. 668.

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The movement began among the intellectuals and the business classes. It soon reached the artisans and farmers, however. Despite such exhibition of frightfulness as the Jallianwalla and Amritsar massacres, tens of millions of Indians continued to back the movement, until the leadership, frightened by the extent of mass civil disobedience, rescinded the action in February, 1922, called off the pickets, and forbade mass demonstrations. The government then arrested hundreds of the leaders, including Gandhi, and the movement was temporarily crushed.[4]

More recently a direct connection has been established between the Chinese Revolution and the Indian movements by the dispatch of Indian soldiers to protect British interests in China. The use of troops of one nationality to keep peoples of other nationalities in subjection is a well established imperial policy. Indians have long been used to police British interests in China. When the Chinese crisis of 1926-1927 developed, Indian troops were dispatched to China.

The event caused a ferment in India, which had already been profoundly stirred by the Chinese Revolution. Representatives of the Swaraj movement raised the issue on a motion in the Assembly, asking that Indian soldiers should not be called upon to fight the Chinese on their own soil and that the Indian Government should not participate in armed intervention in a country striving for independence. The motion was disallowed by the Governor General of India and a discussion of the issue was thus prevented.

"The ideas and sentiments embodied in the Swarajist resolution were not the claptrap of political rowdyism as certain London papers tried to make out. On the contrary, they reflected a great deal of political sanity and of sympathy with the arduous struggle of the Chinese people for independence and national sovereignty. Nor let us forget that in all the

[4] Myra Page: "The Revolutionary Movement in India," *Law of Social Revolution,* New York, 1926, pp. 187 *ff.*

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indefensible opium wars against China . . . Indian troops have invariably been employed by Great Britain for the promotion of her imperial ambitions in that unfortunate land. The capture of Hongkong, the annexation of Wei-hai-wei, 'the International settlements of Hankow and Shanghai,' were all effected by the assistance of Indian soldiers.

"Stripped of all diplomatic verbiage this means that the citizens of a country herself in a state of tutelage have been compelled to fight at the bidding of England to destroy the freedom of other countries with which India has had no direct ground of dispute. Such a process might have been tolerable when the flame of nationalism burned low in India, but with the growing realization of political nationality there the attempts to use her troops beyond her borders, will continue to be bitterly resented." [5]

The *Bombay Chronicle*, organ of the Right Wing Nationalists of India, wrote on January 25, 1297: "Is not the Viceroy aware that India has always bitterly resented the use of her soldiers in Egypt, Mesopotamia and China, whenever they have been unscrupulously used to stem the tide of patriotism and trample down the leaders of these people?" The article refers to the Indian troops in China as "helpless mercenaries for helping selfish imperialistic designs." Under the heading "Indian Troops for China," *Unity* for April 4, 1927, printed a series of quotations from Indian papers all declaring Indian friendship for China and China's cause and condemning the use of the Indian troops to crush the Chinese Nationalist movement.

The All-India Congress Committee demanded the immediate withdrawal of Indian troops from China at a meeting held in May, 1927.[6]

Later the Congress itself adopted a similar resolution.

Mass meetings and popular protests were held in the chief

[5] D. N. Bannerjea: "India and China," *Nation*, June 22, 1927, p. 704.
[6] *Forward*, Calcutta, May 19, 1927.

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cities of India. A resolution adopted at the Bombay meeting expressed "the sympathy of the Indian people for the great Chinese Revolution in the struggle which they are waging for their political and economic freedom" and protested the sending of Indian troops "for the advancement of capitalist imperialism in the East." [7]

Another note has entered the Indian protest. "If Japan has been spared the fate of China, India, Persia, etc., it is only because she too has taken a leaf out of the book of the European imperialists, become a votary of force and has learned to pay European nations back in their own coin. The first condition of a successful stand against white imperialism in Asia is to have a strong and independent China fully trained in the modern arts of warfare." [8] Sen Gupt, a prominent Swaraj leader, goes farther: "Events in China ought to have opened the eyes of the extremely high-spirited members of the European colony. The Europeans in India should not forget that they form an insignificant minority; half a million desperate people would be enough to cause so much disturbance that the British would realize their unusual position in the country." [9]

"Happenings in China are galvanizing hopes and aspirations in India, as they have done ever since the downfall of the Manchu dynasty." [10] The author comments on the extent to which the Indian papers are discussing the Chinese movement. He adds: "One has only to pass through the bazaars and market-places to hear the scraps of conversation carried on even by the uneducated. The burden of the subject is the same, a lively interest in the struggles of an Eastern neighbor for emancipation, social, political, economic" (*Ibid.*).

Philippine independence has been an issue since the Islands

[7] J. Murphy: *Communist International,* May 1, 1927, p. 122.
[8] *Forward,* January 27, 1927.
[9] *Chinese Guide in America,* Stanford University, March 21, 1927.
[10] D. N. Bannerjea: *Nation, loc. cit.,* p. 705.

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were conquered by the United States Army and Navy during a bitterly fought war that lasted from 1899 to 1902. During the early years, the movement took a political form. Political agitation was carried on; an Independence Mission was eventually sent to Washington and finally the Democratic Party adopted Philippine Independence as a campaign slogan.

In 1916 the Jones law definitely promised the Filipinos independence "as soon as a stable government can be established." President Wilson sent Francis B. Harrison, the new Governor General, to the Philippines with this message (August, 1913): "We regard ourselves as trustees acting . . . for the benefit of the people of the Philippine Islands. Every step we take will be taken with a view to the ultimate independence of the Islands and as a preparation for that independence."[11] Governor Harrison, following instructions, filled many of the appointive offices on the Islands with natives. The Filipinos believed that independence was to be "given" them.

Then the Islands fell upon evil days. They contained some oil. They were a potential source of raw rubber. They were the logical jumping off place for trade with Asia. The Wood-Forbes Report, made under the inspiration of the Harding administration (1921) recommended that "the present general status of the Philippine Islands continue until the people have had time to absorb and thoroughly master the powers already in their hands."[12] Still the Filipinos continued to hope, to agitate, and to quarrel with Governor General Leonard B. Wood. On February 21, 1924, President Coolidge in a letter to Manuel Roxas of the Philippine Independence Mission stated emphatically that: "The Filipino people are by no means equipped, either in wealth or experience, to undertake the

[11] F. B. Harrison: *Cornerstone of Philippine Independence,* New York, 1922, p. 50.

[12] "United States, Philippine Islands, Special Mission to," *Report,* 1921, p. 42.

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heavy burden which would be imposed upon them by political independence." [13]

Revolutions occurred in the Dutch East Indies in 1926 and 1927. It is difficult to find any adequate statement of the facts in the case. Thirty-five million people live in Java; 6,000,000 in Sumatra. In both islands agriculture predominates. In both, however, there are rubber plantations, coal and gold mines and oil developments on a modern capitalist scale. Labor is brought in from Asia. The number of indentured workers in Sumatra is stated as 300,000.[14]

Until 1915 "Societies and assemblies of a political nature were prohibited by the Dutch Colonial Government" in Java. "Since the removal of that bar to open discussion of political questions agencies for the articulation of native opinion have sprung up like mushrooms all over the island.[15]

Previously, in 1911, the Islamic Union had been organized in protest against the efforts of the Dutch administration to introduce Christian practices in Java (*Ibid.*). This religious conflict was the issue around which anti-imperial organization originally took place. The Islamic Union held its first National Congress in 1916. The following year, the Congress assumed a bitterly anti-imperial tone. During the following years the leaders of the radical faction were banished or imprisoned by the Dutch authorities.

The rebellion of Java took place in November, 1926. In January, 1927, there was a revolt in Sumatra. Both uprisings were savagely repressed, the leaders being executed or banished.

On one point there seems to be general agreement—the influence of the Chinese Revolution on the movement in Indonesia. In June, 1924, the First Congress of Pacific Trans-

[13] New York *Times,* March 6, 1924.

[14] K. Samin: "The Uprising in Java and Sumatra," *Communist International,* April 15, 1927, p. 109.

[15] A. J. Barnouw: "Communist Revolts in Java," *Current History,* March, 1927, p. 834.

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port Workers met in Canton. The Javanese delegates, aroused by their contact with the Cantonese movement, returned to Java, organized the workers in a secret organization, and succeeded in having a general strike of native labor in Soorabaya, export harbor of East Java, in November, 1925.[16]

India, the Philippines and the Dutch East Indies are separate portions of Asia held by three of the Western Empires. All three are filled with unrest and protest. Within five years all three have experienced one or more revolts. At the same time that the mass movement against imperialism has been sweeping China, it has been making itself felt in these non-Chinese and widely separated parts of Asia.

Turkey and Persia passed through a revolutionary period after 1905. Both of these countries, as well as Afghanistan, were under the domination of the imperialists when the War of 1914 began. To-day a policy of "dignified calm prevails in the relations of England with Turkey and Persia. No trace remains of the policy of intervention and attempted control that was so conspicuous eight years ago. These two countries, together with Afghanistan, are enjoying a phase of complete independence." [17] What has happened meanwhile?

a. The Russian Revolution and the offer of Soviet friendship to the Near East.

b. The Chinese Revolution, with its demonstration of the power latent in any of the principal Asiatic countries.

Turkey has succeeded in abolishing the system of capitulations (extra-territorial rights), in balancing her budget, and in setting up a powerful, well-organized central government, quite independent of imperial control.

Persia seems to be on the highroad to a vigorous national independence. On April 26, 1927, the Shah announced that he had instructed the Prime Minister to approach various foreign

[16] A. J. Barnouw: *Current History*, March, 1927, p. 836.

[17] A. H. Lybyer: "British Policy in the Near East," *Current History*, June, 1927, p. 501.

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governments with a view to the abolition of the capitulations. "Two weeks later representatives of the Powers were notified that all special jurisdictional privileges would be abolished on May 10, 1928. This will end a régime that has lasted 100 years, since Russia and Persia signed the treaty of Turkomanchai, by which it was provided that disputes between Russian and Persian subjects should be settled only in the presence of an interpreter from the Russian legation or consulate. This privilege was extended to the citizens of other nations, and is in force to-day, except that Russia renounced her right in 1921." [18] Afghanistan is likewise standing on her own feet.

How far has the Chinese Revolution been effective in the Near East? It is not possible to say, but the relinquishment of special privileges by the Soviet Union and the impressive demonstrations made by the Chinese against them bear some relation to the action of Persia in cancelling special privileges. The revolutionary movements in the Near East have paralleled that in China. Both are products of the same historic period and both must inevitably act and re-act.

What effect has the Chinese Revolution had on Japan, the only modern Asiatic empire? On the surface it has profoundly modified Japanese public policy. Fundamentally it must have had some influence on the Japanese masses.

Weale (*Op. cit.*) devotes an excellent chapter to the changes in Japanese policy after the presentation of the Twenty-one Demands in China in 1915. The Twenty-one Demands were an announcement of Japan's intention to establish a virtual protectorate over China. The treaty between China and Japan signed at Washington, February 4, 1922, constituted an abandonment of the demands of 1915. Article 1 of the Treaty declared: "Japan shall restore to China the former German leased territory of Kiaochow." Article 1 of the Annex to the Treaty reads: "Japan declares that it renounces all preferential rights with respect to foreign assistance in persons, capital

[18] *Current History*, July, 1927, p. 665.

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and materials, stipulated in the Treaty of March 6, 1898, between China and Germany." [19] One cause of the change was the insistence of Great Britain and the United States. Another was the Chinese boycott of Japanese goods (1919) and the obvious course of the Chinese Nationalist movement.

Fundamentally, the great Western Empires were forced to choose between Japan and China. Japan, in her Twenty-one Demands, made a bid for Chinese control which the British and the American Empires were compelled to reject. Thereafter, in shaping their Far Eastern policy, if Britain and the United States sided against Japan's aggressive policies they sided with China's desire for freedom.

Japan was forced to make a similar choice. She must either side with Britain and the United States, which meant the surrender of an exclusive right to exploit China, or else she must side with the Chinese, which, in the years following 1923, means the Chinese Nationalist movement.

Literally, therefore, the strength of the Chinese Revolution divided the Empires and compelled Japan, if she wished to secure raw materials and to market her goods on the continent, to side with China's nationalist ambitions.

It is impossible to leave the question of the influence of the Chinese Revolution upon other portions of Asia, without a word on the efforts that have recently been made by Pan-Asiatic labor.

The Transport Workers of the Far East met at Canton in 1924, with representatives present from China, Indonesia, and the Philippines. The meeting aroused the non-Chinese delegates to the importance of labor action in the common struggle against imperialism.

On May 1, 1927, a Pan-Asiatic Labor Conference was called by an organizing committee representing the Australian Trade Union Council, the Chinese Trade Union League, the center and left elements of the Japanese unions and representatives

[19] "League of Nations, Treaty Series," Vol. 10, 1922, pp. 310 and 322.

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from the Japanese Peasants Union, from Formosa, Korea, the Philippines, Indonesia.

At the same time, the Conference of Oppressed Peoples was sitting in Brussels. Its direct inspiration was the success of the Chinese Revolution. In attendance were delegates from Egypt, Persia, India, Syria, Dutch East Indies, Annam, Korea, Morocco, French North Africa, South Africa, besides delegates from the Americas. Delegates from China, India and Britain adopted a resolution pledging their members to resist imperialism and "to demand the full withdrawal of armed forces from China, using direct action, including strikes and the embargo to prevent the movement of troops and munitions to China." [20]

The situation in Asia is thus summed up by a careful, first-hand observer: "We have come to the end of the White Man's world dominance" (p. 325). "All Asia has flared into revolt against the dominant white man. The revolt takes three main phases. It is against the white man's political rule, the imposition of his culture and religion, and, most deep-seated of all, his arrogant assumption of social superiority. . . . One-half the world, gradually brought into subservience to the other half during the past four hundred years, has awakened to its shame and risen to take its destiny into its own hands." [21]

4. *Asia, Europe and America*

Profound changes are taking place in the relative positions of Asia, Europe and America. These changes are apparent enough on the surface of events. A glance at some of the drastic economic readjustments of the past half century will go far toward explaining the shifting scene of West-Far East relations in the first quarter of the twentieth century.

The world center of wealth and of industrial production has passed out of Europe into the Americas during the past fifty

[20] *Forward,* May 13, 1927.
[21] Upton Close: *Op. cit.,* p. 3.

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years, and Asia, which was of no industrial consequence fifty years ago, promises to compete actively, in the not distant future, for first place among the industrial areas.

Profound changes have recently taken place in the relative economic positions of Europe, America and Asia. The nature of these changes is suggested by the shift in the volume of wealth and of production.

When the modern imperial struggle was launched about 1870, there were four nations whose wealth was practically equal: Britain, with 40 billion dollars; Germany, with 38 billion dollars; France, with 33 billion dollars, and the United States, with 30 billion dollars. Next in order came Russia with 13 billion dollars and Spain with 10 billion dollars. For most countries, no wealth data are available, but the four countries that headed the list were well in the lead as far as wealth was concerned, and were rather closely bunched together, with Britain at the head and the United States at the bottom of the list. (These figures appeared in the Bulletin of the National City Bank for December, 1924.)

Twenty years later, in 1890, the four wealth leaders of 1870 were still far in advance of the other nations, but they had changed places. At the head of the list was the United States, with 65 billion dollars; Britain followed, with 53 billion dollars; then came Germany, with 49 billion dollars, and France was fourth, with 43 billion dollars. The four were still bunched together, but the United States had moved from fourth to first place in twenty years.

Another twenty years passed. The list had altered in two important respects. First, the four leaders in the wealth race were no longer alone. Russia had joined them with national wealth estimated at 56 billion dollars as compared with 57 billion dollars for France. Italy and Spain had both forged ahead, each with more than 20 billion dollars. The wealth of India was estimated at 20 billion dollars. Japan, Canada and the Argentine had appeared on the horizon, each with wealth

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estimated at 11 billion dollars. Australia had a wealth of 8 billion dollars.

The other important alteration in the wealth position of the leading nations had to do with the relative status of the leaders. In 1890, the wealth of the United States, which stood number one, was only a little greater than that of Britain, which stood number two. But in 1912 the United States reported estimated wealth of 186 billion dollars, while the wealth of Britain, 79 billion dollars, was less than half that of the United States. The third nation, Germany, reported wealth of 77 billion dollars, so that the wealth of the United States, in 1912, was equal to more than the combined wealth of the two other wealthiest nations in the world.

The wealth of the modern world was concentrated in Europe in 1870. With the exception of the United States, no other country could compare with the leading European wealth centers of that date, and even the United States was a poor fourth among the four wealthiest nations. Twenty years later the United States headed the list. Another twenty years and the United States was far in the lead.

Other American countries such as Canada and the Argentine had appeared as important figures in the wealth list. Furthermore, many of the Asiatic countries were listed well up among the third rate wealth nations, while Russia had joined the first rate nations.

These changes had already taken place before 1914. They mark the economic shift from Europe as the wealth center of the world to the Americas and Asia as wealth centers, one of them far outrivaling any of the European empires; the other challenging their undisputed supremacy. The War of 1914 speeded up these changes.

War losses were largely confined to Europe. Almost all of the fighting was done there. Other portions of the world turned out record quantities of supplies, sold them to Europe at record prices and thus profiteered on the European war

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crisis. While the European empires were burning wealth—and each other—on eastern and western fronts, Americans and Asiatics were busily converting their war profits into capital, building blast furnaces and railroads, opening factories and drilling oil wells.

In a very real sense, the Americas and Asia provided the European empires with the materials for their own destruction, and the European empires paid fancy prices to America and Asia for the suicide tools.

When the war was over, and the immediate losses were counted, Europe had ceased to be the world's wealth center. America had taken her place, and some of the leading Asiatic countries had made phenomenal gains in their respective wealth positions.

In 1922—at the end of the war—there was one first rate wealth nation in the world; four second class nations; seven third class nations, and six or more fourth class nations. Here are some of the figures:

First Class	United States	321 billion dollars
Second Class	Britain	89 billion dollars
	France	68 billion dollars
	Germany	65 billion dollars
	Russia	55 billion dollars
Third Class	Spain	29 billion dollars
	Italy	26 billion dollars
	Poland	17 billion dollars
	China	25 billion dollars
	India	25 billion dollars
	Japan	20 billion dollars
	Canada	22 billion dollars
Fourth Class	Brazil	13 billion dollars
	Argentine	13 billion dollars
	Cuba	8 billion dollars
	Mexico	8 billion dollars
	Australia	10 billion dollars
	Netherlands	8 billion dollars

The wealth of the one first class nation, the United States, was equal, in 1922, to that of all of the second class nations

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combined, with a comfortable margin besides. The wealth of the United States was equal to that of all the third and fourth class nations combined and half as much again. Thus, by the end of the war, one nation had become the unquestioned wealth leader of the world.

Further changes had occurred in the geographic distribution of the wealth leaders. Among the second class nations, all were European, but one was Soviet, and bidding for position in Asia. Of the third class nations, three were European, three were Asiatic, and one was American. Here is a basic geographic shift, from the wealth supremacy of Europe, which was so overwhelming in 1870. By 1922 this European supremacy had disappeared. America had taken her place as the wealth center of the world, and in the East there had appeared the rapidly rising wealth power of Asia.

This shift in wealth power follows, as a matter of course, the changes in production. In 1870, Asia, largely in a stage of village economy, produced meagerly and almost exclusively for use. The United States was still predominantly agricultural. Only in Europe had industrialization made notable headway. During the next half century, however, industrialization spread across the United States and invaded China, India, Mexico, Argentina, Canada.

Take, as an example, the production of coal, which is the major fuel of industry. In 1890 Great Britain and the United States were the leading coal producers of the world. Great Britain led with 184 million tons; United States followed with 143 million tons; German production was 70 million tons; French, 25 million tons. Russia produced 6 million tons of coal. Japan produced 2.6 million tons.[22]

Between 1890 and 1913 coal production increased 75 per cent in Britain; 301 per cent in the United States; 483 per cent in Russia, and 823 per cent in Japan. At the outbreak of the War of 1914, United States stood first in coal produc-

[22] *Statistical Abstract,* London, 1914, pp. 489-91.

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tion; Britain stood second and Germany third, but there was a great deal of production taking place in Asia.

Average coal production for the years 1909-1913 was 576 million tons for the whole of Europe, 478 million tons for America and 49.5 million for Asia. The figures for 1925 show 578 million tons for Europe, 543 million tons for America, and 80.5 million tons for Asia. Europe had stood still in coal production; America had gone ahead by a small amount; production in Asia had increased by two-thirds.[23]

Similar changes have occurred in the production of pig iron. European production was less in 1926 than it was in the years immediately preceding the war. American production increased by 40 per cent. Asiatic iron production was seven times as great in 1926 as it was in the pre-war years 1909-1913. To be sure, iron production in Asia is still comparatively small, but it is there that the phenomenal gains in production are being made (*Ibid.*).

Textile production provides another illustration of this shift in production power. The total of Europe's cotton spinning spindles was 99.5 millions in 1913. In 1925 the total was 102.9 millions. In America the total was 34.3 million spindles in 1913 and 42.1 millions in 1925. Thus Europe remained practically stationary, while America showed a gain of more than 20 per cent in her cotton spindles. But the spindles in Asia were 8.4 millions in 1913 and 17.5 millions in 1925. Here the increase was slightly more than 100 per cent (*Ibid.*, p. 133).

The International Economic Conference, sitting in May, 1927, at Geneva, emphasized this situation in its *Summary Memorandum on Various Industries.* "There has been a marked change in the relative industrial importance of America, Japan, India, Australia, and other Pacific countries on the one hand and Europe on the other . . ." (p. 28). "At the particular stage which has now been reached the industrializa-

[23] *Monthly Circular,* Labour Research Department, June, 1927, p. 131.

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tion of Asia, Oceania, etc., is directly competitive with several of the major European industries—more especially the British—and has brought about a serious reduction in demand. Asiatic countries are tending to trade more *inter se*, more with the United States of America, more with Oceania and less with Europe" (*Ibid.*, p. 33).

Here, in a few summary figures, is the economic background of those far-reaching changes that are now taking place in the centers of world wealth power. Fifty years have witnessed a complete transformation in world wealth relations. The wealth and production of Europe are relatively very much less important. The Americas are the world wealth center for the time being. But the movement across the Atlantic promises to continue across the Pacific as well, making that ocean the principal scene of world economic activity. On the Pacific live the vast majority of the world's people. Around the Pacific the struggle of the next economic and social epoch will evidently be waged. The Atlantic was the center of major world activity during the nineteenth century. In the opening years of the twentieth century the scene is rapidly shifting to the Pacific.

5. *The Pacific—China and the United States*

Economic power has already shifted its center from Europe to the U. S. A. As industrialism grows in Asia, three great units emerge, to dominate the world life of the years that lie immediately ahead: the United States, China, Russia. All front on the Pacific, with the United States the spokesman for the Americas, and China the ultimate spokesman for a United Asia.

"Asia's rise to consequence in the world's affairs means most patently of all the shifting of the 'center of the world' from the Atlantic to the Pacific basin. It means that America, China and Russia must assume the importance for which size

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and natural resources and mentality of their populations have fitted them. It means that the United States succeeds Great Britain as the spokesman of Western civilization and vanguard of the white peoples in their front against a revivified Asia,[24] that the United States will take the lead in the exploitation of the peoples of the Far East.

No sooner will the United States have settled her account with John Bull, by crushing the British Empire, as it must inevitably do in the next general war, than it will find itself facing a new and more dangerous rivalry—a rivalry of races and cultures as well as of economic interests. A Eurasian bloc, inspired by the Soviet Union, headed by an organized, armed China and with Japan as a subordinate, but powerful member, two-thirds of the world's population and a vast portion of its wealth, committed to principles of economic coöperation, but willing and eager to defend itself against the arrogance and predatory ruthlessness of the last two of the Great Empires.

This is the inescapable conclusion from the stated premise. Europe has already been reduced to vassalage. Her annual tribute to the United States is in the neighborhood of three-quarters of a billion dollars. The War of 1914 shattered her economic structure irrecoverably. Half her territory and a third of her population left capitalism behind in 1917 and went Soviet. The next war for which she is so busily preparing will still further reduce the relative economic power of Western European imperialism, while central and southern Europe will probably join the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics at an early stage in the struggle. As capitalist Europe dies, Soviet Europe will be born, and it is now probable that the movement will spread from the East, among the peoples who are in contact with the Soviet Union toward the West of Europe.

The Soviet Union will continue to be the spiritual father of the new social order. But the Chinese will be its business manager.

[24] Upton Close: *Op. cit.*, p. 6.

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6. *China—Asia—a New Social Order*

Several conclusions suggest themselves concerning the present status of Asia as it is being influenced by the Chinese Revolution:

a. Asia is in a state of ferment. At the moment this ferment is centered in China, but it did not originate there and during the last quarter century it has expressed itself throughout the Asiatic continent. This ferment seems to be spreading geographically and penetrating socially into the lives of the masses. The development of the unrest is becoming a science. "The very complete Communist school at Canton has an Annamite, a Japanese and a Hindu section, and is frequented by a brilliant student body. Hatred of Europe is taught there for the use of all Orientals." [25]

b. The demand for freedom from European imperial exploitation runs all through this Asiatic revolutionary movement. To-day it is particularly emphatic in China. The feeling was no less prevalent in India in 1919-1923. In the nature of things the opposition must continue while the European empires remain the principal foreign exploiters of Asia.

c. The movement will spread. Foreign ascendency over the internal and external affairs of Oriental countries "is becoming, in an increasing measure, intolerable to the Oriental consciousness." [26] The continuance of imperial pressure, side by side with the success of the Chinese and other Asiatic revolutionary movements, will gradually convince Asia that it can find its way without European guidance, as soon as it is prepared to assert its independence and to take its destiny in its own hands.

d. The labor movement is evidently destined to play a very considerable rôle in the emancipation of Asia from Western

[25] M. Muret: *Twilight of the White Races,* New York, 1926, p. 66.
[26] D. N. Bannerjea: "India and China," *Nation,* June, 1927, p. 705.

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imperial domination. In Russia it has been widely effective. The labor movement was the driving force in China from 1922 to 1927. In other parts of Asia workers and farmers are building their organizations.

e. China is leading a movement which means "the end of empire, the ushering in of a new age when every people shall have full control of its own household and an equal say in the affairs of the human race." [27]

It is not possible to pursue the subject farther at this point. Perhaps enough has been said, however, to warrant a brief summary of the relative position of Asia, Europe and America in terms of world economic development.

(1) Asiatic public policy can no longer be determined in Europe, nor even in America. Asia has entered the world of affairs as a champion in her own right. At the Washington Conference it was possible for Great Britain and the United States to coerce Japan and to snub China. But the scene is changing rapidly.

(2) The domination of Asia by European and American imperialism is drawing to a close. Asia no longer accepts exploitation. She fights. During the past few years she has been learning the arts of commerce and of war. She will use those arts to overthrow her imperial teachers. "The days of foreign rule in Eastern lands are numbered. Imperialism has been weighed in the balance and found wanting. Only time is needed to seal its doom." [28]

(3) Asia is a new and rival center of economic power. Judged by any available evidence, the strength of this economic center will be very great indeed, provided it can be coördinated into a working unit. Japan has won her independence. Turkey is already talking in terms of an Asiatic Federation of Nations. "With China and India politically stabilized and emancipated, there seems to be a high degree of probability

[27] Upton Close: *Op. cit.*, p. 6.
[28] D. N. Bannerjea: "India and China," *Nation*, June 22, 1927, p. 705.

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that we shall have a real League of Nations in the East, as Europe has a League of Nations in Geneva." [29]

(4) Europe was broken by the World War. Half of the geographic area of the continent was permanently lost to capitalism (The Soviet Union). In other portions capitalism has been able to make a very inadequate comeback. Nationalist differentiations were intensified by the World War. The old forces are back at work and Europe is preparing guns and planes for new catastrophes. America is remote, rich, and is still draining European surpluses into American coffers.

(5) A new social form is emerging in Eurasia under the spiritual leadership of U. S. S. R., but with the material resources and the business capacity of the Chinese as the main driving power.

(6) Thus, while Europe is declining and America is holding tenaciously to the old industrial forms, Eurasia has taken a fresh start and with immense revolutionary enthusiasm, centering first in Russia and now in China, is preparing to write contemporary history. Europe was the center of world activity, faced by sharp American rivalry, until the World War. To-day Asia is rapidly taking its place.

(7) This leaves the American Empire, the strongest and last of the great western empires, on one side, and the Eurasian bloc on the other, as the probable culture rivals of the next generation.

(8) Thus there is being written one of the most dramatic pages in history. Geographically, the center of historic interest is shifted from Europe to America and Asia. Culturally, the conflict lies between capitalist imperialism, centered in America and the new social forms that are being produced in Asia.

[29] Bannerjea: *Op. cit.*, p. 705.

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MAP OF CHINA
AND HER EIGHTEEN PROVINCES

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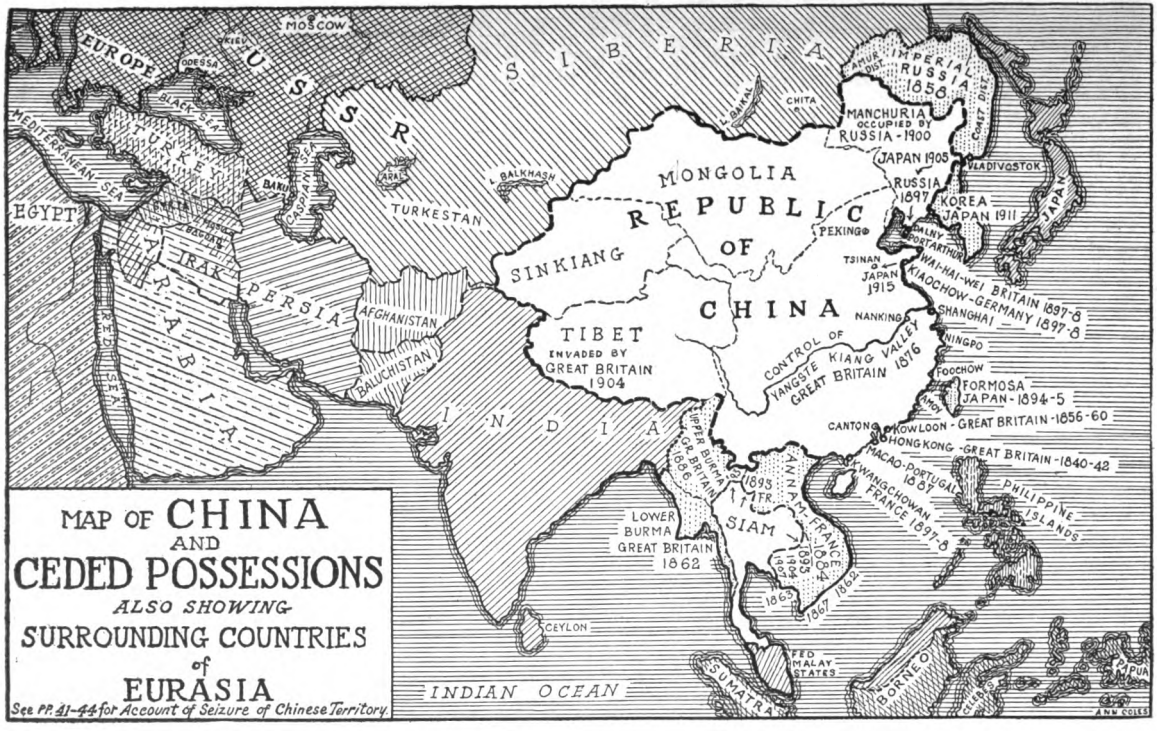

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APPENDIX

SUN YAT-SEN'S TESTAMENT

I

Letter to the Government of the Soviet Union

On the eve of his death (March 12, 1925), Dr. Sun Yat-sen addressed the following letter to the Central Executive Committee of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics:

Dear Comrades:

While I lie here in a malady against which men are powerless, my thoughts are turned towards you and towards the fates of my Party and my country.

You are the head of the union of free republics—that heritage left to the oppressed people of the world by the immortal Lenin. With the aid of that heritage, the victims of imperialism will inevitably achieve emancipation from that international régime whose foundations have been rooted for ages in slavery, wars and injustice.

I leave behind me a party which, as I always hoped, will be bound up with you in the historic work of the final liberation of China and other exploited countries from the yoke of imperialism. By the will of fate I must leave my work unfinished and hand it over to those who, remaining faithful to the principles and teachings of the party, will thereby be my true followers.

Therefore I charge the Kuomintang to continue the work of the revolutionary movement, so that China reduced by the imperialists to the position of a semi-colonial country, shall become free.

With this object I have instructed the party to be in constant contact with you. I firmly believe in the continuance of the support which you have hitherto accorded to my country.

Taking my leave of you, dear comrades, I want to express the hope that the day will soon come when the U. S. S. R. will welcome a friend and an ally in a mighty, free China, and that in the great struggle for the liberation of the oppressed peoples of the world both those allies will go forward to victory hand in hand.

With fraternal greetings,

SUN YAT-SEN.

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II

Instructions to the Kuomintang

The last message of Dr. Sun Yat-sen to the Kuomintang read in part as follows:

For forty years I have devoted my life to the People's Revolution with the object of securing freedom and equality for China. My experience, accumulated in the forty years, has fully convinced me that to attain our object we must arouse the masses and fight side by side with those peoples who consider us their equals.

As the revolution has not yet come to complete success my compatriots must continue to struggle according to the teachings in my books,—namely, *The Plans for National Reconstruction* and *The Three Principles of the People* and in my message made during the first national Representative Convention until our cherished aims have been completely achieved. The recently proposed National Assembly must be convened and the demand put forward for the abrogation of all treaties in which China is not treated as a party with equal rights.

I call upon the party to concentrate all efforts upon the speedy realization of its aims.

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